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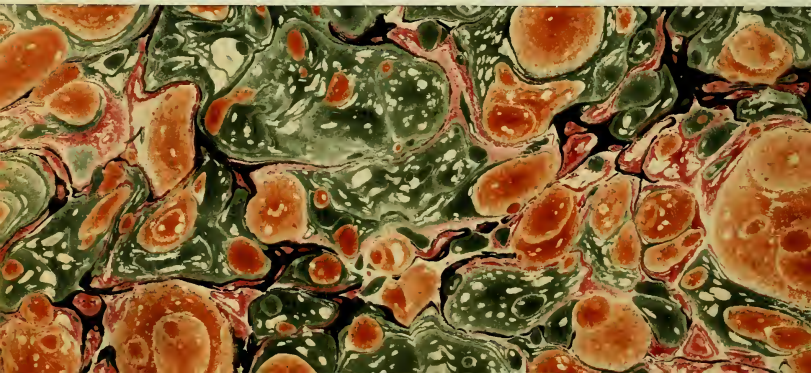
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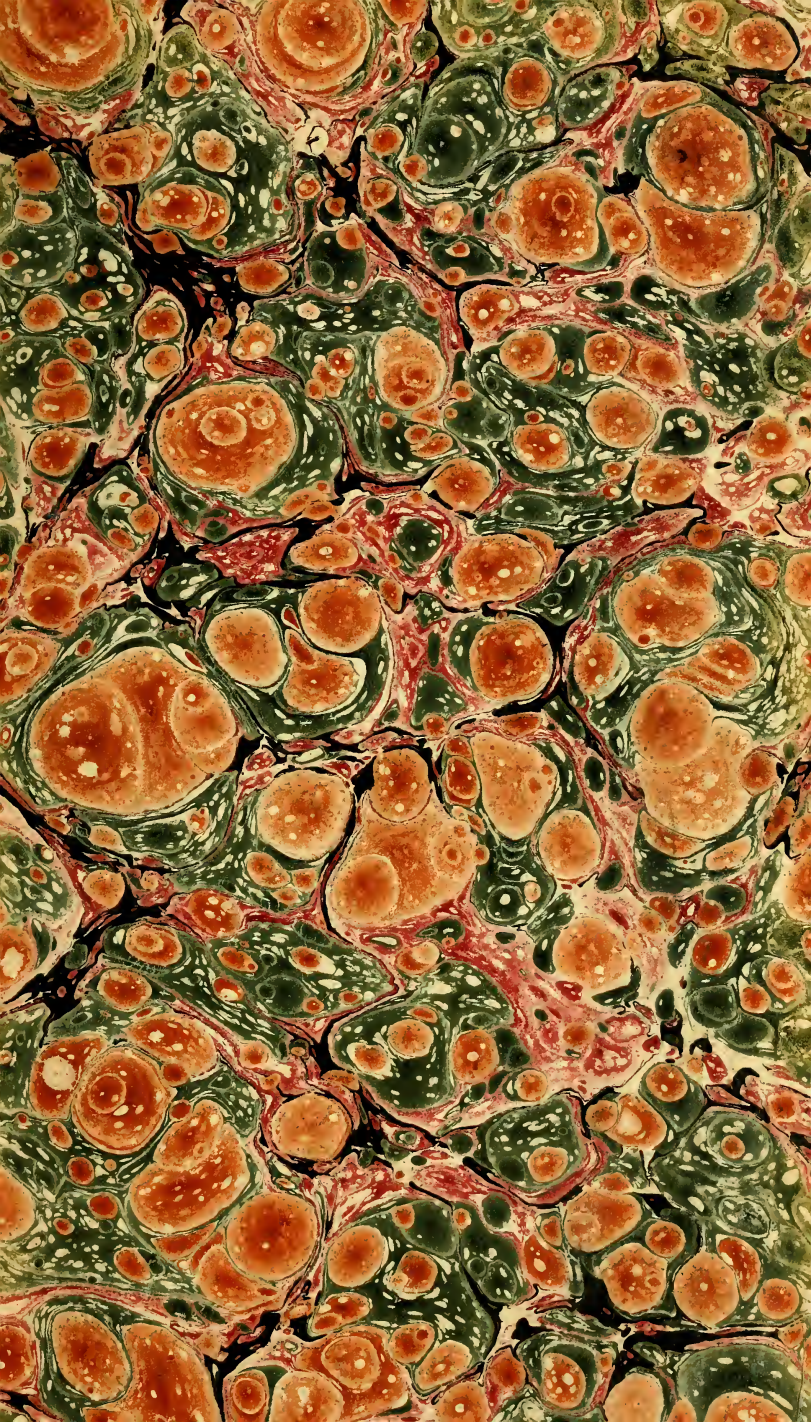
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A
T R E A T I S E
ON THE
GENIUS AND OBJECT
OF
THE PATRIARCHAL, THE LEVITICAL,
AND
THE CHRISTIAN,
DISPENSATIONS.

BY GEORGE STANLEY FABER, B.D.

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Ταυτην μονην εὑρισκον φιλοσοφiam ασφαλη τε και συμφορον.

JUSTIN MARTYR.

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BOOK II.

RESPECTING THE OBJECT
OF THE
LEVITICAL DISPENSATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE OBJECT OF THE LEVITICAL DISPENSATION WAS TO PRESERVE THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE TRUE GOD IN THE MIDST OF SURROUNDING IDOLATRY AND TO PERPETUATE AND CONFIRM THE ABORIGINAL DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION.

OF the Patriarchal Dispensation, then, the special object was *to inculcate the doctrine of* REDEMPTION: a doctrine, which, in some shape or other, must needs form the basis of any religion that could be suitable to the state of a fallen creature; for, separated from the hope of reconciliation, it is plain, that any approach to God on the part of such a creature must be altogether useless and nugatory. If the doctrine of *redemption*, in short, had not entered, as a main ingredient, into the religion of lapsed mankind; I see not, how they could have rationally professed any religion at all. Those reprobate spirits, the fallen angels, have no religion whatsoever, in the proper sense of the word. They believe indeed: but they believe only to tremble and to despair, not to

hope and to love and to worship. Now take away from fallen man the doctrine of *redemption* and the assured promise of reconciliation : and in what respect can we deem him a more fit subject of religion than a reprobate evil spirit ?

I. Hence it is, that the denial of the atonement and the denial of our inherent corruption always go together.

So long as man confesses himself to be a ruined creature, his religion must stand or fall upon the doctrine of *redemption* : nor can he possibly excogitate any other system, until he has first denied the lapse of Adam and its consequence original sin. But any other system is built upon a fundamental error : and this error is of such deleterious magnitude and importance ; that, if persisted in, it leaves even to God himself no alternative save that of utter excision.

Here, therefore, unless I be much mistaken, we have the true *rationale* of the deluge. A general apostasy from the vital doctrine of *redemption* had taken place. Other sins may be repented of and pardoned : but this crowning sin, while it eats out the very core of the only religion suitable to fallen man, excludes (as it were) the possibility of repentance by claiming to be *itself* the sole truth and light and wisdom. Under such circumstances, God was in a manner necessitated to destroy the work of his own hands. Every mean of reclamation had failed. With the exception of a single family, the whole world

of antediluvians were not only *sinners*; for, through the blood of the promised atonement, their sins might have been blotted out: but they were fearless and avowed and systematically impenitent *rebels* against the Lord and against his Christ. What then remained, when the Spirit of a merciful and long-suffering God had sufficiently striven with man, but utter excision? The case was plainly desperate: the very fountain itself was corrupted: and from a corrupt fountain nought can proceed, save waters of irremediable bitterness.

II. But, after the flood, matters took an entirely different turn.

The children of Noah soon apostatised indeed: yet they apostatised upon a totally opposite principle. Instead of rejecting the doctrine of *the atonement*, and the hope of the promised Deliverer, they made these points, though with a mischievously perverse ingenuity, the very basis of their apostasy itself. Their whole ritual was built upon the avowed belief of the piacular efficacy of sacrifice: and, though they divided and multiplied their hero-gods at pleasure, while they assigned to them as their fittest habitations the brilliant Host of Heaven; still the remote prototype of each venerated demon was the predicted Seed of the woman supposed to have corporeally manifested himself in this or in that illustrious human character.

This being the case, utter excision became not,

as before, absolutely necessary. Paganism comprehended within itself all the leading essentials of genuine Patriarchism, though exhibited after a woefully corrupt and degraded fashion. Nothing therefore was requisite, but to devise some mode of counteracting the evil, and to take such measures as might eventually reclaim mankind from their folly and bring them back with even increased knowledge into the old paths whence they had so unhappily strayed.

III. Correspondent then with the evil must be the remedy.

Man had lapsed into the absurdities of polytheism, and was in danger of entirely losing the true doctrine of *redemption* amidst the cloud of superstitious and horrible rites with which it was enveloped. Hence the now effete Patriarchal Dispensation must be superseded by a new and intermediate Dispensation; which should at once *most prominently inculcate the doctrine of the Divine Unity*, and *perpetuate and confirm with increasing light from time to time the sincere aboriginal doctrine of redemption*.

Such, accordingly, is the object of the Levitical Dispensation.

As God is the *moral* governor of the Universe, and as he does not violently overrule the actions of men so as to convert them into mere machines, this new Dispensation, like its predecessor in two successive instances, commenced with a single family. That family grew up into a na-

tion : and, when that nation passing out of the reformed Patriarchism of its pious ancestors Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, received the Law from Sinai ; it long held up to a benighted world the torch of divine truth, shining indeed but as a light in a dark place, yet often shining not ineffectually, until the day dawned and the day-star arose in the hearts of our bewildered race. Then again did sacred knowledge go forth, though with a rapidity hitherto unknown, from out of the bosom, as it were, of a single family ; even the adopted and variously chosen family of the great Deliverer himself : and we are taught to believe and expect, that in the last ages this knowledge will be yet more widely diffused than as yet it has ever been ; so that its peaceful and holy triumphs will be even commensurate with the bloody and polluted triumphs of mimic and delusive Paganism.

It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills ; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob : and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths : for out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem¹.

The object then of the intermediate Levitical

¹ Isaiah ii. 2, 3.

Dispensation was to *preserve the knowledge of the true God in the midst of surrounding polytheism and to perpetuate and confirm with increasing light the ancient patriarchal doctrine of redemption through a promised Deliverer.*

There seems but little need to adduce a laboured proof of either of these points. With respect to the former of them, the whole code of the Hebrew Law is built 'professedly upon the unity of Jehovah, while it reprobates in the most indignant terms the folly and wickedness of polytheism : and with respect to the latter of them, the entire ritual of piacular sacrifice spoke in language sufficiently intelligible that man could only be reconciled to his Maker through the medium of an atonement, while from age to age the volume of prophecy set forth with perpetually increasing light the character and office and expiatory death and finally triumphant progress of him who was first predicted as the special seed of the woman.

IV. But, though neither of these matters can be thought to require any proof, the second of them involves the discussion of a most important and much litigated topic, which affects at once both the Patriarchal and the Levitical Dispensation.

A great writer, though with various subsequent mitigations and allowances, not only denies the knowledge of a future state of retribution to the persons who lived under those two

Dispensations; but even employs the alleged ignorance of the Jews on this point and the circumstance of Moses not making a future retributory state the sanction of his Law, as a medium of demonstrating the divine legation of the Hebrew Legislator.

I am free to allow, that, if the ancient Israelites were *really* as ignorant of a future state as Bishop Warburton contends; the undoubted circumstance, that *the ONLY sanction of the Mosaical Law is TEMPORAL rewards and punishments*, would be an invincible proof that the promulger of that Law was indeed a minister sent and commissioned of God: for, whatever might be *the reason WHY* temporal rewards and punishments were *ALONE* proposed as its sanction, this very matter would itself demonstrate that Moses could not be an impostor; both because an impostor would never have neglected to avail himself of so powerful an instrument as the doctrine of *a future state*, because an impostor would never have dared to propose a sanction wholly beyond his controul namely the sanction of temporal rewards and punishments; and because it is morally impossible (as we have beheld the bishop's acute and well-grounded theory demonstrated even *practically* in the course of our own age) that a people living under an unequal providence and yet not remedying its apparent injustice by a belief in a future retributory state should have remained from generation to gene-

ration without falling into absolute atheism and anarchy. But it is obvious, that the whole stress of the bishop's argument rests upon the alleged fact, that *the ancient Israelites were IGNORANT of a future state of retribution*: for, if they were NOT ignorant of it, the mere circumstance of their Law being made to rest upon a temporal sanction, would not prevent their antecedent and independent knowledge of a future state from operating upon their religious views and their moral habits, just as powerfully as it does upon our own. To *them* such knowledge, if they possessed it, would to all intents and purposes be a sanction, whether expressed or not expressed in the Law itself. The grand question therefore is, whether they *did* possess it.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE DEGREE OF KNOWLEDGE RESPECTING
A FUTURE STATE OF RETRIBUTION POS-
SESSED BY THOSE WHO LIVED UNDER THE
PATRIARCHAL DISPENSATION.

IF we wish to ascertain the important question, *whether the ancient Israelites had or had not any knowledge of a future state of rewards and punishments*, we must begin our inquiry from the very first ages: for, as Bishop Warburton is well aware, the alleged ignorance of the Israelites must inevitably rest upon the equal ignorance of their predecessors under a yet prior Dispensation. The two positions clearly stand or fall together. If the Israelites were ignorant of a future state, their patriarchal forerunners must also have been ignorant of it: and conversely, if the subjects of the Patriarchal Dispensation were well acquainted with it, their successors the Israelites could not possibly have been in a state of ignorance.

Of this indissoluble connection the learned prelate was fully aware: and therefore, having

made the ignorance of the Israelites the ultimate basis of his argument, he found himself compelled also to maintain the previous ignorance of those who flourished before the promulgation of the Law. Hence, as we have already seen, he taught, that man after the fall was left under the sole guidance of what has been called *the religion of nature*; that, so far from having any belief in a future state, he supposed himself to have wholly lost his immortality in the strictest and largest sense of the word; and that he could not draw any moral argument to prove the real existence of such a state from the *unequal* distribution of physical good and evil in this present world, because he lived, like the house of Israel in a subsequent age, under an *equal* providence, which regularly and unerringly accumulated temporal rewards upon the virtuous, while it never failed to visit with temporal punishments the habitations of the vicious¹.

I. All these positions stand immediately and inseparably connected: each one is absolutely necessary to the other.

A well understood promise of a future Deliverer involved of necessity the knowledge of a future deliverance: therefore, lest man should know more than was convenient for this great prelate's system, he must be turned over to the

¹ See above book i. chap. 2.

meagre tuition of natural religion. But, under the tuition even of natural religion, if he were influenced by a firmly rooted conviction that God was a God of justice, he would soon argue forward, from the unequal distribution of physical good and evil in this present world, to a future state where this brief inequality would be fully rectified and vindicated; for, supposing him to have lived as we ourselves do under an *unequal* Providence, he must plainly either have thus argued or have sat down under the practically atheistic persuasion that God was unjust and indifferent as to the moral government of the universe: therefore, to stop the consequences which (as the bishop justly contends) cannot but flow from such a state of mind, he must be placed, like the ancient Israelites, under the rule of an *equal* and miraculously interfering Providence.

In this manner only can Bishop Warburton's system preserve its compactness.

The alleged ignorance of the Israelites respecting a future state requires the antecedent ignorance of their patriarchal predecessors: the antecedent ignorance of their patriarchal predecessors requires, that those predecessors should be placed under the guidance of mere natural religion: and the placing of them under the guidance of mere natural religion requires, that they should also be placed under the rule of an *equal* Providence; lest haply, from the irregu-

larities of an *unequal* one, they should argue forward, through the postulate of God's perfect justice, to a future state of well assigned rewards and punishments.

Now the two last of these positions are wholly untenable: whence, standing connected as they do, *their* untenability will of necessity draw after it the untenability also of the bishop's *leading hypothesis*.

1. So far from our having even a shadow of proof from Scripture, that the early inhabitants of our globe lived under an equal and miraculous Providence in any manner resembling that under which the ancient Israelites were placed, we have as decisive proof, as can well be desired or expected from so very brief a history of the first ages, that they lived, like ourselves, under an unequal and irregular Providence.

The proof of this point has already been deduced from the recorded *fact* of the premature and violent death of the righteous Abel, while the fratricide Cain enjoyed a long life with a competent share of worldly prosperity¹. It shall now be deduced additionally and no less satisfactorily from the recorded *words* of the impious antediluvians themselves.

With the exception of a single pious family, the antediluvians sank universally into a state

¹ See above book i. chap. 2. § III. 3.

of lawless anarchy and materializing atheism. Such was their moral and religious *condition*. Now, under these circumstances, what was their ordinary *language*? Why, the very language, which we are assured they used in the course of their lapse, proves to absolute demonstration that they *could not* have lived under the rule of an equal Providence.

Hast thou marked, says the inspired author of the book of Job, *the old way which wicked men have trodden? Which were cut down out of time, whose foundation was overflowed with the flood: which said unto God, Depart from us; and what can the Almighty do for them? Yet he filled their houses with good things*¹.

Such, it seems, was the strictly Epicuræan argument of the impious antediluvians; an argument, which is plainly inconsistent with the very idea of an equal Providence, and which therefore could never have been used by men who lived under it. They beheld their own houses filled with good things, notwithstanding their repeated daring provocations of God: while the pious, in despite of their profession of being his servants, were apparently neglected, and were suffered to pine away in sickness or poverty or affliction. Hence, like many other wicked men, instead of anticipating a fearful recompense hereafter, they scoffed at the expect-

¹ Job xxii. 15—18.

tation of the pious which indeed is wholly inconsistent with a pantheistic system of fate and materialism, and boldly said even to God himself; *Depart from us, and what can the Almighty do for them?* Would we see this principle expanding into practice, we need only read the Mosaical account of the period which immediately preceded the deluge: an account, which it is not easy to reconcile with the idea, that the antediluvians lived under an equal Providence awarding infallibly and immediately temporal punishments to the bad and temporal rewards to the good.

2. Again: so far from our having the least reason to believe from Scripture, that man after the fall was placed under the tuition of natural religion; we have learned both from it and from the whole frame of pagan theology, that he was subjected to a system of revealed religion, the very corner-stone of which was the promise of a future Deliverer and the assured hope of reconciliation to God through his instrumentality.

This, as we have seen above, is admitted to a certain extent even by the bishop himself: for, though he denies that it could be antecedently learned from the first promise, that *man should be restored to his lost inheritance of immortality by the sacrifice of Christ on the cross*; he allows that it might certainly be gathered from that promise, that *the evil spirit who actuated the serpent would continue his enmity to the human race, but*

*that man by the divine assistance should at length be enabled to defeat all his machinations*¹.

Now such a concession on the part of the learned prelate is quite sufficient for my present argument. Let us grant, that the subjects of the Patriarchal Dispensation were ignorant of *the precise mode* in which man by the divine assistance would at length be enabled to defeat all the machinations of the serpent, namely *through the sacrifice of Christ on the cross*: still, if they knew that man *would* at length be enabled to triumph over his malignant enemy by the assistance of a merciful and gracious God; they *must*, in consequence of that very circumstance, have known also, that the sentence, pronounced upon them by reason of their yielding to the tempter, would finally be reversed. For, unless such a reversal were procured, it is clear, that man would NOT have been enabled by the divine assistance ultimately to defeat all the machinations of the serpent: on the contrary, so far from man being enabled to defeat them, the serpent would in that case have come off both first and last completely victorious. It matters nothing therefore to the argument, whether the early race of mortals did or did not know the precise mode HOW their redemption would be effected; it is quite sufficient, that they knew it WOULD be effected in some mode

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 3. § I. 3. p. 386, 387.

or other: and this they *must* have known, if they collected (as the bishop allows they could not but collect) from the first promise, that *man by the divine assistance should at length be enabled to defeat all the machinations of the serpent*. Knowing then, as they did, the naked fact of a *promised redemption*, however that redemption was to be effected; they must also have known, though perhaps very indistinctly as to subordinate particulars, the doctrine of a *future state of existence*. The two are correlative; as the bishop himself most fully allows, or rather strongly insists when the circumstance may seem to favour his hypothesis. If they were acquainted with the naked fact of a *promised redemption*; they must also have believed, with full assurance, the doctrine of a *future state of existence*: or, if they had been first taught to believe the doctrine of a *future state of existence*; they could not have expected a future state of *happy existence*, without inferring from it the doctrine of a *redemption and a reconciliation to God*, in whatever precise mode it was to be effected¹.

¹ In stating however this connection between the two doctrines, Bishop Warburton, I conceive, does not express himself quite accurately. *If the Jews*, says his lordship, *had the knowledge or belief of a FUTURE STATE of reward and punishment, they must have had the knowledge of the REDEMPTION of man by the death and suffering of Jesus Christ likewise*. Div. Leg. book v. sect. 6. § II. 4. p. 195.

II. But this is by no means the only argument, which may be employed to demonstrate that the subjects of the Patriarchal Dispensation must have known and believed the doctrine of *a future state of rewards and punishments*: the same position may also be established by the direct testimony of Scripture itself.

1. We read in the history of the antediluvian world, that *Enoch walked with God, and he was not; for God took him*¹.

On the alleged obscurity of this passage Bishop Warburton has studiously expatiated, lest conclusions should be drawn from it fatal to his whole system. Hence he remarks, that *several of the Rabbins, as Aben-Ezra and Jarchi, fond as they are of finding a future state in the*

Had the bishop concluded his sentence with the words *redemption of man*, he would have set forth a perfect and undoubted truth: but, in consequence of his immediately subjoining *by the death and suffering of Jesus Christ*, he has advanced a proposition not strictly accurate. Man, as a fallen creature actually condemned and rejected of God, could not know the doctrine of *a future state of reward and punishment*, without likewise having knowledge of *his redemption*: but he most certainly might know the doctrine of *a future retributory state*, and yet might be wholly ignorant that *his redemption was to be effected after one particular mode*, namely *by the death and suffering of Jesus Christ*. The bishop's inaccuracy consists in his having unfortunately changed a *general*, into a *particular*, proposition.

¹ Gen. v. 24.

Pentateuch, interpret the translation of *Enoch* as only signifying an immature death¹.

Now, even if we concede to his lordship all that he could wish respecting the pretended obscurity of the passage, I see not how this will at all avail him so far as the belief of *the antediluvians* is concerned. We know, on the unequivocal testimony of the inspired writer to the Hebrews, that *Enoch was translated*, THAT HE SHOULD NOT SEE DEATH². If then *Enoch* was miraculously translated to heaven without seeing death; the FACT of *his translation* must have been well known to his contemporaries, just as the FACT of *Elijah's translation* was equally well known to the contemporaries of that prophet. But, if the *fact* itself were known; the *doctrine*, of necessity involved in the *fact*, could not but have been known also. The doctrine however, so involved, is plainly the doctrine of *a future state*: and, as *Enoch* was no obscure person, but, on the contrary, a public character distinguished for his eminent piety; the doctrine, so involved, was not simply the doctrine of *a future state*, but the doctrine of *a future state of HAPPINESS AND RECONCILIATION WITH GOD*. For what is the inevitable conclusion, which the contemporaries of *Enoch* must have drawn from the fact of *his translation*?

¹ Div. Leg. book v. sect. 5. p. 162.

² Heb. xi. 5.

Could they believe him to be snatched away in a whirlwind to a state of annihilation? Then they must have believed, that the only adequate reward of supereminent piety was to be reduced to nothing, or to undergo (what Bishop Warburton deems) the penal sentence pronounced upon sinful man, several centuries before the then ordinary time of undergoing it: in other words, they must have believed, that the sole reward, which he obtained for walking carefully with his God, was a premature extinction of being. Could they believe him to be snatched away to a future state of misery and punishment? Such a belief were yet more absurd and self-contradictory than the last: for, in that case, they must have believed, that the piety of Enoch was rewarded by his being hurried away to torment before his natural term of life was half run out, while to the wicked was granted a longer period of enjoyment and a longer respite from misery. What then could they have consistently believed, save that he was snatched away to a future state of happiness and full reconciliation with God? But, believing this, would they stop here in their belief? I should think not. Fully as they might allow the preëminent piety of Enoch, they would clearly enough perceive, that the *distinguishing* reward granted to his piety was not *a future state of happiness*, but *an exemption from the penalty of temporal death*. Hence, even without any special

revelation on the subject, they must have inferred analogically from the whole creation of God, that, as like ever consorts with like, the souls of the pious would at length be gathered to Enoch, though their road to happiness might lie through the dark portal of the grave. From the mere well known FACT of *Enoch's translation*, I see not how the antediluvians, unless their method of reasoning differed most strangely from our own, could possibly have argued in any other manner¹.

¹ By a most singular confusion in reasoning, the bishop would in truth prove *the ignorance of the antediluvians as to the FACT of Enoch's translation* from *the alleged obscurity of the PASSAGE in which Moses records that fact*. Now, let the passage be as obscure as it may, what has *its* obscurity to do with the knowledge of the antediluvians? If indeed any writer had been so ludicrously absurd as to maintain, that the antediluvians derived their knowledge of the FACT from the RECORD of Moses; then, doubtless, *the alleged obscurity of the RECORD* would have been a fair argument against *their knowledge of the FACT*. But, as their knowledge of the FACT cannot have the slightest concern with either the obscurity or the clearness of a RECORD, written many hundred years after *they* had all been removed by the hand of death: nothing surely can be more nugatory, than an attempt to prove *their* ignorance of the FACT from the obscurity of the RECORD penned by *Moses*. Very possibly *Aben-Ezra* and *Jarchi* may have understood the RECORD as intimating nothing more than the immature death of Enoch, and very possibly some among *ourselves* might have understood it in the same sense had it not been authoritatively explained by the inspired apostle to the Hebrews. But what then? Is this any proof, that *the antediluvians* were

This is the whole, that is necessary to my argument: nor can the belief of the *contemporary* antediluvians be at all affected by any obscurity in the mode, wherein the Hebrew lawgiver communicated the fact of *Enoch's translation* to the *long posterior* Israelites. But, in truth, the Israelites themselves, notwithstanding the gloss of the individuals Aben-Ezra and Jarchi, discerned no such *darkness visible* in the passage. Even the most careless observer must have been struck with the studied difference of expression, between the manner in which the removal of Enoch is described, and the manner in which the removal of EVERY OTHER antediluvian patriarch is specified. Of ALL, with the single exception of Enoch, it is said, HE DIED: of Enoch ALONE it is said, HE WAS NOT, FOR GOD TOOK HIM. Now, if the removal of Enoch had differed only from the removal of the other patriarchs in the single circumstance of *its prematurity*; it is impossible to conceive, why Moses should have used, what

ignorant of the FACT? That the FACT itself *did* occur, we know with absolute certainty from the inspired comment of St. Paul. Hence it is plain, that the knowledge of this FACT, so far as *the antediluvians* are concerned, would depend upon THE PUBLICITY AND NOTORIOUSNESS OF ITS OCCURRENCE, not upon THE RECORD LONG SUBSEQUENTLY PENNED BY MOSES. Had Moses never written a syllable upon the subject, the knowledge of the antediluvians, as to a contemporary FACT, would clearly not have been one jot affected by *his* silence.

on such a supposition must have been, a singularly quaint and affected mode of speaking. Why could he not have said, as any other writer would have done, analogously to his universal method of expression throughout the whole antediluvian genealogy: *And all the days of Enoch were three hundred sixty and five years; and HE DIED?* Why should he depart from this natural mode of speech, as if purposely to excite curiosity and to set speculation at work, in order to tell us, with ill-timed variation of phrase, that *Enoch walked with God, and HE WAS NOT; FOR GOD TOOK HIM?* Accordingly, the opinion of the Hebrew Church, previous to and independent of the authoritative interpretation of St. Paul, seems decidedly to have been, that Enoch was translated to glory without tasting death. The Seventy employ a Greek word, of which the strictly literal version is *God TRANSPOSED him*¹: and, if Josephus be somewhat ambiguous on the subject in his account of the ten antediluvian generations, he afterwards places the abreption of Enoch and the abreption of Elijah upon the very same footing; for he teaches us, that, according to the sacred books, they alike vanished away from the eyes of men, and their death no one beheld². But the author of the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus, who

¹ Μετεθηκεν αυτον ο θεος. Gen. v. 24.

² Εν ταις ιεραις αναγεγραπται βιβλοις, οτι γεγονασιν αφανεις, θανατον ο' αυτων εδεις οιδεν. Ant. Jud. lib. ix. c. 2. § 2.

flourished at the latest nearly two centuries before the Christian era, is most full and unambiguous and unhesitating on the subject. He directly asserts, that upon the earth no man was created like Enoch: and the reason which he gives for his peculiarity, is, that he was translated or that he was taken from the earth¹. Nay even the gloss of Aben-Ezra and Jarchi, unreasonable as it may well seem, leads still to the same doctrinal conclusion, though by a somewhat different course. If the translation of Enoch without death clearly proved to those Israelites, who so understood the passage, that there certainly is a future retributory state: the premature death of that eminently pious man must have equally proved the same doctrine to those Israelites, who favoured the interpretation which has been advocated by Aben-Ezra and Jarchi; for, had they believed that there was *no* future retributory state, they stood pledged to believe also, that the reward of holiness was a premature extinction of being, while the reward of impiety was length of days and great temporal prosperity.

2. As the antediluvians learned the doctrine of *a future state of reward* from the miraculous translation of Enoch, so they would equally learn the doctrine of *a future state of punishment*

¹ Ecclesiast. xliv. 16. xlix. 14.

from the tenor of his preaching. The substance of what he foretold to the impenitent must have been preserved from the earliest ages, in the successive Patriarchal and Levitical Churches; for St. Jude could not cite a non-entity: and, that it was accurately preserved, notwithstanding it might have given birth to many spurious imitations, is certain; because, otherwise, it would not have received the stamp of inspired apostolic authority¹.

Now St. Jude assures us, that Enoch prophesied respecting the final punishment of those antichristian apostates of the last ages; who, in the nature of their wickedness, are compared by the apostle to Cain, and to Balaam, and to the sacerdotal messengers of the house of Seth that are reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.

*Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying: Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all; and to convince all that are ungodly among them, of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him*².

When this divine oracle was made public in

¹ For an ample collection of the spurious prophecies of Enoch, see Fabric. Pseudepig. vol. i. p. 161—223.

² Jude 14, 15.

the times of the antediluvian world, it would doubtless be variously received. The pious would hear it with deep veneration and with humble faith: the impious, like the antichristian apostates of our own days, would scoff and disbelieve. But still no one could be ignorant, through any want of authoritative information, that an awful punishment awaited the ungodly in a state of existence subsequent to the present state. Whether men would hear, or whether they would forbear; at all events, the doctrine of a *future retribution* was revealed to them in terms, which they could not misunderstand, though they might not be aware of the *full* extent of the misery reserved for the impious. Knowing the purport of Enoch's prophecy, and having witnessed his own translation to heaven, the subjects of the Patriarchal Dispensation before the flood could not be ignorant, that a future state of rewards and punishments, with whatever indistinctness the subordinate particulars might be set forth, was proposed as the sanction of that Dispensation. Nor is this all: I may further remark, though somewhat prematurely, that, since the prophecy of Enoch was carefully preserved in the successive Patriarchal and Levitical Churches down to the very time of St. Jude who has finally recorded it in an inspired document of the Christian Church; the persons, through whose hands this ancient oracle was transmitted, must themselves also have been

acquainted with the doctrine of a *future retributory state*¹.

3. Respecting the knowledge however of a future state, as possessed by the early patriarchs whether antediluvian or postdiluvian, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has been so explicit, that no doubt on the subject can remain in the minds of those who admit his divine inspiration.

After successively specifying by name Abel and Enoch and Noah and Abraham and Sarah and Isaac and Jacob, the apostle hesitates not to bear the following remarkable and decisive attestation to their sentiments.

¹ The learned Walton argues, from the prophecy of Enoch as recorded by St. Jude, that the art of writing must have been well known from the most remote antiquity: for, without letters, it were scarcely possible, that such a fragment could have been so long preserved. Walton. Proleg. in Bibl. ii. § 7. Whether the antediluvians possessed an *alphabetic* character, is another question: certain it is, that all antiquity both Hebrew and Gentile is full of certain books having been preserved in the ark during the prevalence of the deluge, which were afterward handed down to posterity. Hence, with reference to these books, we find, that a very ancient city in Palestine was originally called *Kirjath-Sepher* or *the city of the book*, ere the Israelites changed its primitive appellation to the nearly synonymous name of *Debir*. We read likewise of a mount *Sepher* far to the east of Palestine, of a city in Babylonia denominated *Sippara* or *Sephera*, and of a whole people who called themselves *Sepharim* or *Bookmen*. See on this curious subject my Origin of Pagan Idol. book iii. chap. 5.

These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off: and they were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. For they that say such things declare plainly, that they seek a country. And truly, if they had been mindful of that country from whence they came out, they might have had an opportunity to have returned. BUT NOW THEY DESIRE A BETTER COUNTRY, THAT IS, AN HEAVENLY¹.

III. With so direct a testimony before him, we may reasonably wonder, how Bishop Warburton could maintain the extraordinary position that the doctrine of a *future retributory state* was alike unknown before the Law and under the Law. The mode, in which his lordship encounters the difficulty, is this.

Though it appears, says he, that a future state of rewards and punishments made no part of the Mosaic Dispensation, yet the Law had certainly a spiritual meaning, to be understood when the fulness of time should come: and hence it received the nature, and afforded the efficacy, of prophecy. In the interim, the MYSTERY OF THE GOSPEL was occasionally revealed by God to his chosen servants, the fathers and leaders of the Jewish nation: and the dawning of it was gradually opened by the prophets to the people².

Commenting immediately afterward on the

¹ Heb. xi. 13—16.

² Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 5. p. 1.

seventh Article of the English Church, in which it is taught that *they are not to be heard who feign that THE OLD FATHERS did look only for transitory promises*, the bishop draws a broad line of distinction between THESE FATHERS and ALL THE ISRAELITES; or, as he ought rather to have done and as the whole of his argument plainly requires, between THESE FATHERS and THE GREAT BODY OF THE PEOPLE WHETHER LIVING BEFORE THE LAW OR UNDER THE LAW¹. On this principle, while he allows the Mystery of the Gospel to have been occasionally revealed to a few CHOSEN SERVANTS OF GOD; he maintains, that the BULK OF THE PEOPLE, both before the Law and under the Law, were plunged in the most complete ignorance respecting the doctrine of *a future retributory state*: still however he acknowledges, with whatever consistency, that the later Jews gradually beheld the dawning of it through the ministration of the prophets.

These concessions, so far as I can judge, like the fabled teeth of the classical dragon, serve only to give birth to a new host of difficulties.

1. If, by a revelation from heaven, the old fathers were instructed in the doctrine of *a future state*; the question forthwith presents itself, *How came they not to make it generally known?*

To this sufficiently obvious question, I cannot

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 5. p. 2.

find, that the bishop attempts to give any answer save the following.

He first claims to have proved, that Moses did not propagate the doctrine of *a future state* in WRITING: and next he asserts, that the Israelites therefore, if they had the doctrine at all, could only have had it through the medium of ORAL TRADITION. But, if once we acknowledge the sufficiency of ORAL TRADITION, we open a wide door to the Romanists; who, accordingly, fail not to triumph over the Protestants on this very account. For they urge, that, while in *their* case we depreciate the honour of TRADITION; we leave ourselves, by rejecting from the canon the two books of Maccabees, no solid method of proving that the Israelites had the doctrine of *a future state*, save that they received it from Moses through the channel of ORAL TRADITION. His lordship then goes on to assert, in reference to what he likewise claims to have proved, that the *more ancient* Israelites at least, whatever dawning of knowledge might have gradually broken in upon their *later posterity* through the ministration of the prophets, did NOT in fact possess the doctrine of *a future state*. But, if they did NOT *possess* it, nothing is clearer than that they could NOT *have received* it through the medium of ORAL TRADITION ¹.

(1.) As for his lordship's apprehensions from

¹ Div. Leg. book v. sect. 5. p. 183—186.

the potent logic of the Romish Church, I consider them in this very able writer as a mere flourish of his controversial weapons. The bishop no doubt was perfectly aware, that there is so marked and essential a difference, between ORAL TRADITION *as employed in handing down a doctrine at once incapable of ever being forgotten and alike according both with reason and with subsequent revelation*, and ORAL TRADITION *as employed in handing down figments equally absurd in themselves and contradictory to the written word of God*: his lordship no doubt, I say, was perfectly aware, that there is so marked a difference between these two several employments of ORAL TRADITION, that we have little need to fear much danger from the retort courteous of the Romish Church on *this* subject.

Dismissing then our panic dread of ORAL TRADITION, we still, if we adopt Bishop Warburton's theory, shall find ourselves called upon to answer the obvious question; *If the old fathers were divinely instructed in the doctrine of a future state, how came they not to make it known?*

Had it ever been made known by them, I will be bold to say, that it could never afterward have been forgotten. Corrupted indeed and obscured by superstition it might have been, blotted out too it might have been from the creed of daring and wicked and speculative men: but never could it have been universally forgotten, either within or without, the sincere Church of God, if

it had once been authoritatively promulgated, as a divine revelation, by those holy patriarchs to whom (the bishop allows) it was communicated. Hence it will follow, that, if the ancient Israelites and their predecessors before the Law were *really* ignorant of it; the patriarchs must have designedly concealed it from them, much in the same manner as the hierophants of the pagan world studiously concealed their *Aporrheta* from the unhallowed gaze of the profane vulgar.

How far such management were creditable to the honesty and piety of those good men, I stop not to inquire: for, in fact, it is plainly useless to inquire into the grounds and reasons of what never occurred.

If Abel were acquainted with the doctrine of a *future state*, which the inspired writer to the Hebrews positively declares to have been the case¹; it is utterly incredible, that he should never have communicated his knowledge to his father Adam and to his brother Cain, even supposing the doctrine not to have been previously revealed to Adam. But, if Adam were acquainted with it, he would surely not conceal it from Seth and his younger children: and these, in like manner, would carefully hand down to their posterity a doctrine of such vital importance. Let us however conjecture, that, in some unaccountable manner, this revealed tenet, so peculiarly

¹ Heb. xi. 4, 13—16.

calculated to interest the anxious hopes and fears of mankind, was totally lost in the course of the seven generations from Adam to Enoch; notwithstanding, through the longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs, Enoch lived contemporaneously with Adam 308 years out of his whole allotted term of 365 years, and notwithstanding he likewise flourished synchronically with all the patriarchs between Adam and himself: yet let us grant for a moment this evident impossibility; and we shall soon find, that the system of Bishop Warburton is little benefited by the concession. Enoch, according to St. Paul, was no less acquainted with the doctrine than Abel¹: and, according to St. Jude, he was very far indeed from treasuring it up as a hidden cabbala either in his own bosom or in the bosoms of the direct male descendants from Seth; for he rather employed it as an awful medium of reproof and exhortation to the untoward race of his contemporaries, predicting the certainty with which God would execute judgment upon the world of the ungodly². But let us admit, what I am free to do, that the doctrine was at length universally exploded by the wicked antediluvians, not indeed through any ignorance that it was a tenet of the Patriarchal Church, but through rank materializing infidelity; we are soon presented with a new scene at the opening of a new world. Noah is the third

¹ Heb. xi. 5, 13—16.

² Jude 14, 15.

person, who is specially enumerated by St. Paul, as *desiring a better country, that is, an heavenly*¹: and his house alone was found faithful, at the period of the deluge. If then Noah was thus confessedly acquainted with the doctrine of a *future state*; can we believe, that his sons would be profoundly ignorant of it: and, if his sons were not ignorant of it, can we believe that they would fail to communicate so important a doctrine to their posterity? In fact, there can be no reasonable doubt that they *did* communicate it; for, however debased and corrupted by the inventions of Paganism, we find most distinct and evident vestiges of it in every quarter of the globe. Bishop Warburton, I know, supposes it to have been diligently inculcated by each gentile legislator, as a powerful engine of state reaching where mere human laws could not reach; and very possibly he may be right to a certain extent: but, if he mean to say that the doctrine itself anterior to Christianity was a *contrivance of the legislator*, and that he did not *find* it with the people but *brought* it to them; we must have some better proof of the truth of such an opinion, than its necessity to a most ingenious theological system.

(2.) This argument will hold perfectly good, whether Bishop Warburton be right or wrong in his opinion respecting the faith ascribed by the

¹ Heb. ix. 7, 13—16.

Apostle to his host of enumerated worthies. For, whether it was faith in the *generic* sense as his lordship maintains, or faith in the *specific* sense of a *prospective faith in the great Deliverer* as others believe; still we are assured, that those enumerated worthies *desired a better country, that is, an heavenly*. Whence it will follow, unless we exhibit them as violating the first dictates of nature, that they must at least have communicated their knowledge to their children and relatives; so that, from Adam and Seth in the antediluvian world, and from Noah in the postdiluvian world, the doctrine of a *future state* must have been successively derived to all their descendants. But it may well be doubted, whether the bishop's view of that faith, which the apostle ascribes to the fathers, be strictly accurate: not only because such a view is irreconcilable even with his own principles: but likewise what is of much higher importance, because it ill accords with the description given of that faith by the apostle himself.

His lordship contends, that the faith spoken of is merely a *generic* faith in God's promises at large, whether of this nature or of that nature: so that Noah's faith, for instance was simply a full belief that God would bring over the earth the waters of an universal deluge; while the faith of the other patriarchs similarly had respect only to their several peculiar situations¹.

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 4. p. 428—435.

But this interpretation of the faith in question does not quadrate with the bishop's own principles. He declares, as we have already seen, that, *if the Jews*, and consequently by a parity of reasoning the early fathers, *had the knowledge or belief of a future state of reward and punishment, they must have had the knowledge of the redemption of man by the death and suffering of Jesus Christ likewise*¹. Such a declaration I conceive indeed to be too specific; for the subjects of the Patriarchal and the Levitical Dispensations might have had a general belief in the doctrine of *redemption*, without knowing the precise mode in which that redemption was to be effected: but the declaration itself is substantially accurate and well founded. Since the early fathers well knew that the penalty of death was pronounced upon man by reason of transgression, they could not possibly have believed the doctrine of *a future state of happiness* at least, unless they had also believed the doctrine of *redemption in whatsoever manner to be effected*: because the grant of a future state of happiness to a sinner implies, of absolute necessity, the idea of a reconciliation with God brought about in some manner not inconsistent with the divine attribute of inflexible and perfect justice. Hence, if the early fathers, as the bishop himself confesses and as the apostle unambiguously declares, had the knowledge of a future state of reward and punishment; they must also have had a ge-

¹ Div. Leg. book v. sect. 6. p. 195.

neral knowledge of man's redemption, whether they did or did not know the precise mode in which it was to be effected. Such then being the case on his lordship's own principles, it is incongruous to expound the faith of the early patriarchs as only a *generic* faith; when the acknowledged fact of their acquaintance with the doctrine of a *future state* requires us to understand it as a *specific* faith in that promised Deliverer, through whose divine assistance (as the bishop speaks) *man should be at length enabled to defeat all the machinations of the serpent*¹.

Nor is this interpretation less irreconcilable with the language of the apostle himself. Speaking of Abel and Enoch and Noah and Abraham and Sarah and Isaac and Jacob, he remarks : *These all died IN FAITH, NOT HAVING RECEIVED THE PROMISES, BUT HAVING SEEN THEM AFAR OFF; and they WERE PERSUADED OF THEM, and EMBRACED THEM, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth*². Now what were the promises to which St. Paul here alludes as constituting the object of patriarchal faith even in the article of death? In the case of Abraham it might be said, that the promise intended was the promise of the land of Canaan to his posterity; which he received in faith, though he saw it only afar off: but no such solution can be brought forward in the case of Noah. If the

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 3. p. 387.

² Heb. xi. 13.

faith of this great patriarch solely consisted in his *reliance on God's promise to save him in the approaching deluge*, as Bishop Warburton maintains and teaches : how can it be truly said of him, that he died in faith, NOT having received the promises ; but having only seen them AFAR OFF, and having been simply PERSUADED of them so as cordially to EMBRACE them though he never beheld their actual accomplishment ? The language of the apostle is irrestrictive ; *these ALL died in faith* : and the faith of *these ALL* is described as operating precisely upon the same object ; namely, THE REMOTE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF CERTAIN PROMISES LONG AFTER EACH OF THEM SHOULD HAVE BEEN REMOVED BY THE HAND OF DEATH. It is clear therefore, that the promises in question could relate to nothing that was accomplished during the term of their several *lives* : for, even when Jacob the last enumerated person died ; he still, like the first mentioned Abel, had not received the promises, but had only seen them AFAR OFF. What then were the promises, thus embraced with a lively faith by each departing patriarch, though not one of them was permitted to behold their REMOTE accomplishment ; save the various promises, which had been made from time to time since the fall of Adam and Eve, respecting a future Deliverer, who should bruise the head of the vanquished serpent, and in whom (as a descendant of Abraham) *all the nations of the earth should be blessed* ? I see not what pro-

mises, except these, could alike interest each enumerated patriarch in the hour of death. Doubtless, they had a well grounded right to *desire a better country, that is, an heavenly*: BECAUSE, although they had *not* actually received the promises of a future Redeemer, but had only *seen them afar off*; they were nevertheless fully persuaded of them, and embraced them, with a faith not the less lively because it was prospective. Accordingly, the apostle goes on to tell us, that the kindred faith of Moses (for he gives us no intimation, that the faith of Moses at all differed from the faith of any other persons whom he enumerates) had a direct reference to the promised Saviour: the motive, on which this eminent character chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, was, because he *esteemed the reproach of CHRIST greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward*¹. Nothing, in short, can be more distinct than the tenor of the whole passage from beginning to end. The old fathers are described, as expecting a future state of happiness on the avowed belief, that the promises respecting a future Deliverer would at some remote period be fully accomplished. Nor indeed could they rationally expect the one, without believing the other. To whatever extent their knowledge, as to the pre-

¹ Heb. xi. 25, 26.

cise mode in which the redemption of man was to be effected, might haply reach : this at least is certain, Bishop Warburton himself being judge, that the doctrine of *a future state of happiness* and the doctrine of *a redemption from the power of sin and Satan*, must, in the case of the early patriarchs, have been altogether inseparable.

From the eleventh chapter then to the Hebrews, which his lordship well denominates *the very Palladium of the cause*, we learn, not only that the ancient patriarchs had the doctrine of *a future state*, but that they had also the doctrine of *a redemption built upon certain promises respecting a future Deliverer which were to receive their accomplishment at a very remote period*. If however they had both these doctrines ; the doctrines themselves must also, for the reasons already specified, have been well known to all the other subjects of the Patriarchal Dispensation. This is quite sufficient for our *present* purpose : what degree of truth there is in the bishop's assertion, that the ancient Israelites did NOT possess the doctrine of *a future state* and therefore that they COULD NOT have received it traditionally from their ancestors, must be considered in its proper place ; such a consideration would *here* be plainly irrelevant.

2. But the difficulty of accounting for the mysterious silence of the old patriarchs, in regard to that knowledge of a future state which Bishop Warburton allows them to have possessed ; a

silence too nearly resembling the priestcraft of the pagan hierophants, to be readily admitted in the case of truly pious men ; a silence likewise which contradicts one of the first laws of nature, that of parental anxiety for the welfare and happiness of children : the difficulty of accounting for this their mysterious silence and for this their total suppression of the most important dogma in the whole circle of theology, which silence and which suppression are clearly necessary to the system advocated by his lordship, is by no means the only difficulty, which the concessions of the learned prelate must inevitably conjure up.

The bishop repeatedly brings forward, as one of his palmary arguments to demonstrate that the doctrine of *a future state* COULD NOT have been taught and known either before the Law or under the Law, that famous text of St. Paul, which declares, that *our Saviour Jesus Christ hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel*¹. This text his lordship understands to intimate, that the doctrine of *life and immortality* was FIRST authoritatively taught by Christ: because, if it had ALREADY been taught by any antecedent prophet, St. Paul could not have said with truth, that CHRIST was the person who BROUGHT IT TO LIGHT. Hence he argues, that, since St. Paul ascribes its FIRST authoritative promulgation to CHRIST ; it

¹ 2 Tim. i. 10.

must have been unknown, before this its FIRST authoritative promulgation, both to those who lived previous to the Law and to those who lived under the Law ; the doctrine of *a future state of rewards and punishments* being specially and exclusively the grand Mystery of the Gospel¹.

¹ Div. Leg. book v. sect. 6. § II. 3. p. 190, 191, 196. Bishop Warburton assumes, throughout the whole of his work, that the grand MYSTERY of the Gospel is the doctrine of *a future retributory state*: and, since this MYSTERY is more than once said to have been kept secret from the beginning of the world to the time when the Gospel was preached; he thence argues, that the doctrine of *a future retributory state* must have been unknown before the coming of Christ.

His lordship is perfectly right in his supposition, that this peculiar phraseology is employed allusively to the ancient pagan MYSTERIES: but he has not the slightest warrant for his assumption, that, when St. Paul speaks of the long-hidden MYSTERY of the Gospel, he specially means the doctrine of *a future state of rewards and punishments*. So far from it, the MYSTERY in question is plainly *the whole evangelical scheme of grace and mercy propounded to the Jew first and afterward to the Gentile*. This was long obscurely and indistinctly understood in the Levitical Church, while the pagans knew nothing of it except through the medium of some vague and distorted and misapprehended patriarchal traditions: but, when the Sun of righteousness arose upon a benighted world, then (as the apostle speaks) the MYSTERY of the Gospel *was made known to all nations for the obedience of faith by the scriptures of the prophets*; that is to say, by comparing the old prophecies respecting the Messiah with their exact accomplishment in the person and doctrines of Jesus Christ. See Rom. xvi. 25, 26. 1 Corinth. ii. 1—8. Ephes. i. 3—10. iii. 1—12. vi. 19, 20. Coloss. i. 14—29. ii. 2, 3. iv. 3, 4.

(1.) It is abundantly plain, that the whole weight of this celebrated argument of Bishop Warburton rests entirely upon the assumption, that St. Paul positively and irrestrictively asserts the doctrine of *life and immortality* to have been FIRST taught as a revealed truth by our Saviour Jesus Christ. Now, admitting for a moment that such is the undoubted import of the text, let us see into what a strange difficulty the concessions of the bishop at once conduct him.

He argues, that the doctrine of *a future state* CANNOT have been taught or known either before the Law or under the Law ; because, in that case, our Lord would not have brought the doctrine to light, or have been the first person that taught it as a revealed truth : yet he allows, not only that this identical doctrine *was occasionally revealed by God to his chosen servants, the fathers and leaders of the Jewish nation ;* but likewise that *the dawning of it was gradually opened by the prophets even to the people at large*¹.

These two positions, so far as I am able to judge, stand directly opposed to each other, involving a manifest and palpable contradiction.

If the doctrine of *a future state* were revealed by God to the ancient patriarchs, and if the

1 Tim. iii. 16. Let the reader peruse these passages : and he will find, that Bishop Warburton's assumption rests upon no solid basis.

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 5. p. 1.

prophets gradually opened it to the people at large; I am utterly unable to comprehend, how Christ can be said to have *brought life and immortality to light* in the sense, wherein Bishop Warburton throughout contends that those words ought to be understood: for our Lord most certainly did NOT *first* teach the doctrine in question as a revealed truth, if it had *already* been revealed to the patriarchs and authoritatively communicated by the prophets to the Jewish people. In fact, even had every other prophet been totally silent on the subject, there is one remarkable text in the book of Daniel; which, though left altogether unnoticed by the bishop, were itself most amply sufficient to demonstrate, that his lordship's gloss upon his palmary text from St. Paul cannot but be radically erroneous. The revealing minister, who delivers to Daniel his last prediction, concludes it with the following words. *Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they, that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they, that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever*¹. Such is the attestation of Daniel: let us next hear the declaration of St. Paul. *Our Saviour Jesus Christ hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel*². Now,

¹ Dan. xii. 2, 3.² 2 Tim. i. 10.

if we compare these two passages together, since we may be sure that the Holy Spirit of God cannot contradict himself, we may be also sure, that the meaning of the latter cannot be that, which Bishop Warburton ascribes to it, and which he makes the very basis of his argument so far as the New Testament is concerned. Whatever idea St. Paul may have wished to convey by the phraseology which he employs; most assuredly, since he well knew that the attestation of Daniel was *already* in existence, he could never have intended to intimate, that Christ was the FIRST who taught as a revealed truth the hitherto unknown doctrine of *a future state of rewards and punishments*. Yet most strangely and most inconsistently can our learned prelate assert in *his own* sense of St. Paul's words, that, *as to the Bible, one half of it is silent concerning life and immortality, and the other half declares that the doctrine was brought to light through the Gospel*¹. So far is this from being the case, that, if St. Paul be interpreted as the bishop would interpret him, he will not only be placed at variance with the prophet Daniel, but he will likewise flatly contradict himself. For, when he writes to the Hebrews, he declares of the early patriarchs, that *they desired a better country, that is, an heavenly*: yet, when he writes to Timothy, he declares, according to Bishop

¹ Div. Leg. book v. sect. 5. p. 177.

Warburton, that *Christ so brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel* that the doctrine was wholly unknown until it was thus at length authoritatively promulgated.

(2.) What then, it may be asked, is the real meaning of a text, on which the bishop, by an untenable gloss of his own, has insecurely built so massive a superstructure?

To this question there is not much difficulty in giving a satisfactory answer.

As the text *cannot* denote, that Christ was the FIRST who taught the doctrine of a *future state*, and consequently that that doctrine is the *peculiar* and *exclusive* characteristic of the Evangelical Dispensation; we must evidently, in order that St. Paul may be made consistent both with Daniel and with himself, understand it in a much lower and more limited sense than that ascribed to it by Bishop Warburton. If we were to say, that the illustrious Newton *brought to light* the true solar system; would any person deny that we spoke the truth, and yet would any person suppose we meant to intimate by such an expression that our great English philosopher was the FIRST who knew and maintained the true relative positions of the sun and his dependent spheres? Certainly not. On the contrary, he would clearly perceive, that we simply intended to assert the blaze of light which Newton threw upon a fact by no means previously *unknown*, but undoubtedly *known as*

*yet only as in a glass darkly*¹. Now it is after this identical manner, that we must evidently, I think, understand the phraseology of St. Paul, when he speaks of *Christ bringing life and immortality to light through the Gospel*. Our Lord taught nothing that was not already known to a certain extent; both as to the fact of a future state, and as to the ground upon which was built man's claim to a happy immortality. But he brought the whole of this compound doctrine, out of previous comparative darkness, into a light hitherto unknown: he delivered it clearly, and fully, and explicitly: he made it the special and exclusive sanction of the new Dispensation: he communicated it, with full-orbed glory, not only to the believing Jews, but likewise to the benighted Gentiles, who either through the plain necessity of an erring philosophic system were led to reject it altogether, or who held it only as tricked out in the fantastic garb of pagan mythology: and, bringing it to light as he did

¹ This precise idea is most eloquently expressed by Dr. Halley in the following truly classical lines.

———— NUBEM PELLENT Mathesi,
 CLAUSTRA PATENT COELI rerumque immobilis ordo.
 Jam superûm penetrare domos, atque ardua coeli
 Scandere, SUBLIMIS GENII CONCESSIT ACUMEN.

To the same purpose likewise speaks the conclusion of the well known epigram.

———— The world was WRAPPED IN NIGHT,
 When Newton spoke the word, and ALL WAS LIGHT.

THROUGH THE GOSPEL, he finally established it in *both* its constituent parts; by distinctly shewing, how the one part stood connected with the other part, and how the tenet of *man's life and happy immortality* rested altogether upon the tenet of *man's redemption through the piacular sacrifice of the long-expected and late-revealed seed of the woman*¹.

¹ It may well be doubted, whether even *abstractedly* the original Greek be capable of bearing the sense ascribed to it by Bishop Warburton through the medium of our not strictly accurate English translation. *Supposing Moses or the law of nature to afford evidence for a future life and immortality, it remains to be considered*, says Bishop Sherlock, *in what sense the words of the text are to be understood, which do affirm that life and immortality were brought to light through the gospel. To bring any thing to light may signify, according to the idiom of the English tongue, to discover or reveal a thing which was perfectly unknown before: but the word in the original is so far from countenancing, that it will hardly admit of, this sense. The Greek runs thus: φωτισαντος δε ζωνη και αφθαρσιαν. Now φωτιζειν signifies, not to bring to light, but to enlighten, illustrate, or clear up, any thing. You may judge by the use of the word in other places. It is used in John i. 9. That was the true light which lighteth (or enlighteneth) every man that cometh into the world; ο φωτιζει παντα ανθρωπον. Jesus Christ did not by coming into the world bring men to light; but he did by the gospel enlighten men, and make those, who were dark and ignorant before, wise even to salvation. In like manner, our Lord did enlighten the doctrine of life and immortality, not by giving the first or only notice of it, but by clearing up the doubts and difficulties under which it laboured, and by giving a*

3. Still, even as yet, we have not reached the end of those extraordinary contradictions, into which Bishop Warburton's concessions have unwarily led him.

Stubborn facts compel him to acknowledge, that, before the birth of Christ, the Jews certainly had the doctrine of a *future retributory state*, from whatever source they may have received it. How then does he account for this inopportune appearance of a doctrine, where, on his own avowed principles, it certainly ought not to have appeared? Sometimes he tells us, that *the later prophets opened the first dawning of the doctrine of a resurrection and consequently of a future state of reward and punishment*¹: but, at other times, as if fearful of granting too much, he contends, that the Jews mainly owed what knowledge they possessed of this doctrine to their pagan neighbours. *Patched up indeed this knowledge might be out of some dark and scattered insinuations of their own prophets, while it was varnished over with the metaphorical expressions employed to convey them*: but still his lordship thinks, in decided opposition to the sentiments of his venerable brother of Cloyne respecting the origination of such knowledge among the

better evidence for the truth and certainty of it, than nature or any revelation before had done. Sherlock's Serm. vol. i. serm. 6. p. 188, 189.

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 1. p. 297. sect. 5. p. 1.

Hebrews from primeval tradition; that, *from the very colour and complexion of the doctrine, it can be shewn, that it did in fact come from a distant quarter, namely the somewhat unexpected quarter of pagan mythology*¹.

What need the Jews should have to fill their urns from the turbid waters of gentile superstition, when *fast by the oracle of God flowed the limpid brook of Siloa*; why they should send to *inquire of Baal-Zebub the god of Accaron*, respecting the dread secrets of the central Tartarus and his own Acherusian pool, when Daniel had unequivocally taught the resurrection of the dead *some to everlasting life and some to everlasting contempt*; what resemblance the learned prelate can discover between the noble confession of the Maccabèan mother and those fabled Manes and subterranean kingdoms which among the later pagans were scarcely believed by the very boys, when the head and front of her offending before the monster Antiochus was her strenuous refusal to pollute herself by conformity to the idolatrous manners of the Gentiles²: all this it is passing difficult to comprehend. Bishop Warburton, hampered on every side with contradictions of his own raising, and yet determined not to adopt any mode of solu-

¹ Div. Leg. book v. sect. 5. p. 186. The bishop promises to establish this position in the last portion of his great work: but he lived only to write a fragment of the ninth book.

² 2 Macc. vi. 4—9. vii. 20—23, 27—38.

tion which may too roughly clash with his favourite hypothesis, resembles some strong animal; which has haply entangled itself in the perplexities of a well-fabricated net, and which by every indignant struggle to regain its freedom binds round its mighty labouring bulk the subtle meshes only more closely and more inextricably.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE DEGREE OF KNOWLEDGE RESPECTING
A FUTURE STATE OF RETRIBUTION POSSESSED
BY THOSE WHO LIVED UNDER THE LEVITICAL
DISPENSATION.

WE have seen, that the object of the Patriarchal Dispensation was *to inculcate the doctrine of redemption*, and that the object of the Levitical Dispensation was at once *to perpetuate this aboriginal doctrine and to preserve the knowledge of the one true God in the midst of surrounding idolatry and polytheism*.

But, with the doctrine of *redemption*, is inseparably connected (as Bishop Warburton himself allows) the doctrine of *a future state of retribution*. For, if man be redeemed from the penalty brought upon him by the machinations of the infernal serpent, he must needs recover his lost immortality of happiness: while yet, since it is doubtless in his power to reject the benefits of redemption, he may still be liable to the condition in which the penalty left his imperishable soul, namely an immortality of woe.

Thus do the two doctrines of *redemption* and of *a future state of retribution* stand inseparably connected together. Hence, as it was the object of the Patriarchal Dispensation, to inculcate the former, we learn from the most unobjectionable testimony, that its subjects were also well acquainted with the latter: and hence, as the whole ritual of the Levitical Dispensation, and the whole concomitant scheme of prophecy (which is no other than a continued testimony respecting Christ¹), sufficiently demonstrate, that it was at least *one* object of that Dispensation to perpetuate and confirm the doctrine of *redemption*; we may be morally sure, from the very reason of the thing, that its subjects could not be ignorant of the doctrine of *a future state of retribution*.

In this manner might we argue even independently of all other considerations: but let us see, how the case stands with respect to the ground which has now been gained.

From the knowledge of a future retributory state possessed (according to St. Paul) by Abel and Enoch and Noah, and from the remarkable prophecy of a final judgment delivered (according to St. Jude) by Enoch to the antediluvian world, we have found ourselves obliged to conclude, on the obvious principle of plain common sense,

¹ *The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy*: or rather, *The spirit of prophecy is the testimony of Jesus*. Rev. xix. 10.

that not only *certain of the old fathers* were acquainted with the doctrine of *the soul's immortality*, but likewise *all the descendants of Adam* in the first instance and *all the descendants of Noah* in the second.

Bad men, during the period which preceded the deluge, might no doubt, in the pride of their high speculations, *reject* the doctrine, as they seem also to have rejected the doctrine of *the atonement*: but the very act of *rejection* implies *previous possession*; and whatever might be the presumptuous madness of antediluvian infidelity, those, who were untainted with it, firmly held each doctrine as their best and most valuable treasure.

SECTION I.

The knowledge of a future state of retribution, which Abraham and his family are allowed to have possessed, involves, by a moral necessity, the same knowledge on the part of the Israelites at the time of the Exodus.

AMONG the children of Noah after the deluge, though neither of the two doctrines was renounced, each was grievously corrupted: and, with this corruption, was introduced the polytheistic system of Hero-worship and Sabianism.

It now therefore became necessary that God should interpose, partly to preserve from utter extinction *the knowledge of his absolute unity*, and partly to rescue from complete depravation the ancient patriarchal doctrines of *redemption from the penalty due to sin* and of *a future state of rewards and punishments*.

For this purpose he called Abraham from among the idolaters of Chaldæa.

Now it is obvious, that, by the very act of calling him away from the worship of other gods, he practically taught him, that *the one Jehovah was a jealous God, who would by no means share the incommunicable honours of divinity with the superstitiously worshipped heroes and deâstri of the erring Gentiles*¹. But the Lord did much more than merely inculcate the doctrine of *the divine unity*: he further instructed him, after a more full and precise manner than he had ever before instructed any one of his predecessors, in the great mystery of *man's redemption through the death and revival of the only begotten Son of the Father*: and, with this instruction, he again declared to him, as he had already declared to his ancestors, both before and after the deluge, the vital and inseparably connected doctrine of *a future state of rewards and punishments*.

My present object is to shew, that *the knowledge of a future retributory state, possessed by*

¹ Josh. xxiv. 2, 3.

Abraham and his family, involves, by a moral necessity, the same knowledge on the part of the Israelites at the time of their departure from Egypt.

I. That God strongly inculcated upon Abraham the doctrine of *the divine unity* and the mingled unlawfulness and folly of idolatrous polytheism, requires no formal proof: we have only therefore, in order that we may firmly establish the basis of our argument, to demonstrate the two remaining particulars.

1. Of these, the doctrine of *redemption* was fully revealed to the devout patriarch, through the medium of that extraordinary drama, *the interrupted sacrifice of Isaac*.

Then it was, as our Lord speaks, that Abraham saw the day of Christ. But he certainly saw it, not *mechanically* and *unintelligibly* alone: on the contrary, he saw it, so as clearly to *understand* the nature of that awful transaction by which it should be characterised. For, had he not *understood* the nature of what he saw, he must have been ignorant of the benefits about to be procured by the reality of that which he beheld only in shadowy representation: and, if he were ignorant of those benefits, he could not possibly or rationally have been agitated by that intense joy and vehement exultation, which however we are assured that he did actually experience.

Accordingly we are taught, that, having *received the promises* (namely those identical pro-

mises of a future Redeemer, which, in common with the other ancient patriarchs, he *had seen afar off and was persuaded of them and embraced them*), he *offered up his only-begotten son*; *accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead: from whence also he received him in a parable*; that is to say, in a dramatic hieroglyphical representation¹.

This subject however has been so admirably treated by Bishop Warburton himself, that it were superfluous to say any thing more respecting it²: I need therefore only to remark, that not merely Abraham alone, through the medium of a sacred drama, was made fully acquainted with every leading particular in the doctrine of *redemption*; but likewise (as the bishop himself explicitly allows) that the several members of his family were, by his instruction, equally made *acquainted with the true import of the command*, and thence *at the same time* (as his lordship also allows) by a necessary consequence *were not ignorant of a future state*³.

2. Their knowledge of a future state, as Bishop Warburton truly remarks, would follow of course from their knowledge of the doctrine of *redemption*, even if nothing more had been said on the subject.

But St. Paul does not leave this important

¹ Heb. xi. 17, 19.

² See Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 5.

³ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 5. note R. p. 196.

matter to be gathered only in the way of inference and deduction : on the contrary, he explicitly declares, that Abraham was among the number of those who *died in faith*, who *beheld afar off the promises* of a future Deliverer, and who thus testified that *they desired a better country that is an heavenly*¹.

The connected doctrines then of *redemption* and of *a future state* flourished with full vigour among the several members of the numerous family of Abraham.

II. Let us now observe, what must be the inevitable consequence of this train of reasoning, conducted step by step over the sure ground of express revelation.

Bishop Warburton, as we have just seen, fully concedes, that the inseparably connected doctrines of *redemption* and *a future state* were known both to Abraham and to the whole family of Abraham. But, while his lordship makes such a concession, and, in making it, while he elucidates with admirable sagacity the narrative of Isaac's interrupted sacrifice ; he wishes to draw a marked distinction, in point of sacred knowledge, between *the contemporaneous family of Abraham himself*, and *the Israelitish posterity of Abraham in the time of Moses*. The former, he acknowledges, were well acquainted with the doctrines in question : the latter, he con-

¹ Heb. xi. 8—19.

tends, were wholly ignorant of them. In order to make out this point, he once more ridicules Tradition as a mere Popish expedient, which can lead us into nothing but absurdity: for what can be more palpably and manifestly absurd than the conclusion, that, *what Abraham's HOUSEHOLD once knew, the POSTERITY of Abraham could never forget*¹?

Such is the summary mode, in which the learned prelate disposes of a difficulty that many would perhaps deem no trifling impediment to the reception of his system: but let us not condemn the proposed solution as unsatisfactory, without first giving it a fair examination.

From the family of Abraham, the two doctrines, on the express authority of St. Paul, may be traced down to the family of Jacob²: whence it will follow, that, if they were completely lost among the Israelites in the time of Moses, they must have been lost during the period which intervened between the death of Jacob and the exodus of the Israelites; for, when Jacob died, all the members of his family were alive, and all those members were themselves well acquainted with the doctrines in question. But Jacob died 198 years before the exodus. Therefore the doctrines, if lost at all, must have been lost during the course of these 198 years.

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 5. note R. p. 197.

² Heb. xi. 8—19.

Here then the obvious question arises, whether it be, not merely *probable*, but *possible*, that doctrines so deeply interesting could have been wholly obliterated in the course of so very brief a period.

At the time when Jacob died, the twelve patriarchs were all acquainted with them: accordingly, St. Paul specially mentions Joseph in his list of those ancient worthies; who distinguished themselves by their faith in the remotely beheld *promises* of a Redeemer, and who *desired a better country that is an heavenly*¹. But, if the twelve patriarchs were all acquainted with them, we may be morally sure that they would not fail to communicate them to their children. In fact, Jacob *himself* lived to see and converse, not only with his grandchildren, but in some of the patriarchal lines even with his great-grandchildren; so that, when he descended into Egypt, exclusive of his sons' wives though inclusive of the family of Joseph, he was the head of no less than seventy souls².

Now, according to the pastoral habits of that early and simple period when a man's sons were not dispersed into various regions to acquire a maintenance as best they could, all these seventy souls, with the exception of Joseph's household which sprang up in Egypt, would have constituted the patriarchal family of Jacob in the land

¹ Heb. xi. 22.

² Gen. xlv, 26, 27.

of Palestine: and to them, in every matter of religious instruction, would be added the children of Joseph subsequent to the emigration of Jacob. Hence it appears, that, at the time when Jacob died, full seventy persons, exclusive of women and children, must have been acquainted with those doctrines, which Bishop Warburton allows to have been well known to the whole family of Abraham, and which (according to St. Paul) must have been equally well known to the whole family of his grandson.

But these seventy persons were the ancestors of the whole Israelitish nation: and, out of their number, Levi died only 128 years before the exodus; whence of course his nephews and great nephews, a large proportion of whom was included within the specified seventy persons, must have died very much nearer to that epoch. The same remark applies to the posterity of Levi himself. His daughter Jochebed married his grandson Amram 41 years after the death of her father Levi: and, as Amram must have been somewhat younger than his wife and aunt (for Jochebed at the time of her marriage could scarcely have been less than 60 years old), and as Amram himself lived 137 years, we connect their sons, Aaron and Moses, with their ancestor Levi by only a single intervening link; for Amram and Jochebed conversed with Levi, and Aaron and Moses conversed with Amram and Jochebed. Doubtless, in the other patriarchal lines,

similar instances, though not specifically recorded, must often have occurred : so that many persons living at the time of the exodus, must have conversed with the twelve patriarchs through the medium of only a single link, or at the most of two links ; and a yet greater number of persons must have conversed, some *immediately* and others more or less *mediately*, with the younger members of those seventy that constituted Jacob's family at the time when he descended into Egypt.

Such being the case, let any reasonable being judge as to the degree of probability, that the doctrines of *redemption* and a *future state* should have been perfectly well known to the whole family of Jacob, and yet that they should have been perfectly unknown in the day of the exodus.

If the posterity of Abraham in the time of Moses had thus forgotten what the household of Abraham once knew, which is the position asserted and maintained by Bishop Warburton : then must the seventy members of Jacob's family, even to say nothing of their wives, have formally entered into an agreement, that they would unanimously bury within their own bosoms the doctrines which they had received from their pious ancestors, that they would carry these doctrines with them out of the world, and that thus they would resolutely withhold from their children the comfortable certainty to the pious of a glorious immortality in a state of

happiness through a redemption to be effected by the promised Deliverer.

What possible motive any set of men could have for such extraordinary conduct, it is hard to say: yet, if we receive the system of Bishop Warburton, we must believe that something of this sort actually took place. For, at one end of the chain, his lordship admits, that the whole family of Abraham, and thence by a necessary consequence the whole family of Jacob, were well acquainted with the doctrines before us: but, at the other end of the chain, he contends, that all the posterity of Abraham in the day of the exodus had totally forgotten them. What then is the medium, by which the bishop would conduct us from one extreme to the other? If any person can point out a medium different from that which I have just described, namely *the unanimous consent of the seventy members of Jacob's family to carry the doctrines with them to their graves*, he will possess a degree of ingenuity to which I venture not to make any pretensions. So far as I can judge, if the doctrines were known to the successive households of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, which the bishop does not pretend to deny; it is utterly impossible, that they could be wholly unknown to the Israelites in the time of Moses. Doctrines of this description might be *corrupted* in the lapse of some generations, which was the case in all the gentile lines of Shem and Ham

and Japhet: but I will venture to say, though in plain opposition to Bishop Warburton, that, if *once known*, they could never be *forgotten*. Accordingly, let us direct our researches where we please, we shall not find a single people upon the face of the globe, without some notion of piacular atonement, and without some belief in a future state of existence. The doctrines have been *corrupted* indeed, but they have not been *obliterated*.

SECTION II.

An examination of the arguments adduced by Bishop Warburton.

As a full reply to every argument of this description, Bishop Warburton urges what he contends to be *the naked matter of fact*: that the Israelites, however extraordinary such a circumstance may be, did in reality not believe in the doctrine of *a future retributory state*.

His lordship states this matter so forcibly, that it were an injury to his cause if I were to employ any other words than his own.

We now advance a step further, and shew, that, as Moses did not teach, yea forbore to teach, the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments; so neither had the ancient Jews, that is to say, the body of the people, any knowledge of it. The proof is striking, and scarce to be resisted by

any party or profession but that of a system-maker. The Bible contains a very circumstantial account of this people, from the time of Moses to the great captivity: not only the history of public occurrences; but the lives of private persons of both sexes, and of all ages, conditions, characters, and complexions, in the adventures of virgins, matrons, kings, soldiers, scholars, parents, merchants, husbandmen. They are given too in every circumstance of life: captive, victorious, in sickness, and in health; in full security, and amidst impending dangers; plunged in civil business, or retired and sequestered in the service of religion. Together with their story, we have their compositions likewise. In one place, we hear their triumphal; in another, their penitential strains. Here, we have their exultations for blessings received; there, their deprecations of evil apprehended. Here, they urge their moral precepts to their contemporaries: there again, they treasure up their prophecies and predictions for the use of posterity; and on each denounce the threatenings and promises of Heaven. Yet, in none of these different circumstances of life, in none of these various casts of composition, do we ever find them acting on the motives, or influenced by the prospect, of A FUTURE STATE; or indeed expressing the least hopes or fears, or even common curiosity, concerning it: but every thing, they say or do, respects the present life only; the good and ill of which are the sole objects of their pursuits and aversions.

The strength of this argument is still further sup-

ported by a view of the general history of mankind, and particularly of those nations most resembling the Jewish in their genius and circumstances: in which we find the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments was always pushing on its influence. It was their constant viaticum through life: it stimulated them to war, and spirited their songs of triumph: it made them insensible of pain, immovable in danger, and superior to the approach of death.

It is still further urged, that this conclusion does not rest merely on THE NEGATIVE SILENCE of the Bible-history: it is supported on THE POSITIVE DECLARATIONS contained in it; by which the sacred writers plainly discover, that there was no popular expectation of a future state or resurrection.

From the Old Testament we come to the New: by the writers of which it appears, that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments DID NOT MAKE PART of the Mosaic Dispensation. Their evidence is divided into two parts: the first proving, that TEMPORAL rewards and punishments were the sanction of the Jewish Dispensation; the second, that it had no other¹.

The arguments of Bishop Warburton, as he properly arranges them in the preceding summary, are partly NEGATIVE and partly POSITIVE. Let us proceed to consider them, according to the order chosen by himself.

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 6. p. 133, 134. See also book v. sect. 5. p. 174—176, 182.

I. The NEGATIVE argument is built on *the alleged TOTAL SILENCE of the ancient Israelites, under whatever circumstances, respecting a future state of rewards and punishments.*

1. In discussing the cogency of this argument, let us begin with inquiring, whether, even if we *concede* the necessary fact of that TOTAL SILENCE for which the bishop so strenuously contends, the argument in question will satisfactorily prove the matter which it is adduced to prove.

(1.) We are told, that the ancient Israelites, on all occasions, are *totally* silent respecting a future state, THEREFORE (argues the bishop) it follows, as a necessary consequence, that they must have been *ignorant* of it.

If then this total silence be sufficient to demonstrate the ignorance of the ancient Israelites; it must likewise be sufficient to demonstrate the ignorance of all other persons recorded in the Old Testament, who are similarly silent: for it cannot demonstrate the one, without also demonstrating the other.

Now the bishop assures us, that the doctrine of *a future retributory state* is no where to be found in the Pentateuch, Moses having purposely fore-born to teach it. Hence, on *his own* statement of the matter, to omit Abel and Enoch and Noah respecting the minute occurrences of whose lives the sacred historian says very little, even Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, whose adventures are detailed with the most studied

particularity, are just as silent on the doctrine of *a future state* as the ancient Israelites themselves can be. These venerable patriarchs (to adopt the appropriate language of Bishop Warburton) are exhibited *in every circumstance of life: captive or at least in servitude, victorious, in sickness, and in health; in full security, and amidst impending dangers; plunged in civil business, or retired and sequestered in the service of religion. Together with their story, we have their compositions likewise. Here, we have their exultations for blessings received; there, their deprecations of evil apprehended. Here, they urge their moral precepts to their contemporaries: there again, they treasure up their prophecies and predictions for the use of posterity; and on each denounce the threatenings and promises of Heaven. Yet, in none of these different circumstances of life, in none of these various casts of composition, do we ever find them acting on the motives, or influenced by the prospect, of A FUTURE STATE; or indeed expressing the least hopes or fears, or even common curiosity, concerning it. THEREFORE* (if there be any cogency in his lordship's mode of reasoning), like their posterity the Israelites whose conduct in this respect perfectly resembled their own, they must have been *wholly ignorant* of such doctrine: for, so far as a negative argument can have any weight, their TOTAL IGNORANCE is irresistibly demonstrated by their TOTAL SILENCE. *The proof* (once more to take up the bishop's own words) *is striking, and scarce to be resisted by any party or profession but that of*

the system-maker. What then are we to think of this invincible conclusion; which, if drawn from the recorded conduct of the ancient Israelites, must also be drawn from the no less minutely recorded conduct of the still more ancient patriarchs? Were Abel, and Enoch, and Noah, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, *indeed* ignorant of a future state of rewards and punishments; a position, which the bishop's negative argument must inevitably prove, if it be allowed to prove the ignorance of the ancient Israelites? Truly the inspired apostle declares, that all these, dying in faith, having seen the promises afar off, and being fully persuaded of their certain though remote accomplishment, alike *desired a better country, that is, AN HEAVENLY.* Nor is the matter only declared by the apostle: the accuracy of his declaration is allowed by Bishop Warburton himself; and, notwithstanding the TOTAL SILENCE of the old patriarchs on the subject so far as their history is recorded by Moses, our learned prelate confesses, that the doctrine of a future state was *occasionally revealed by God to his chosen servants the fathers and leaders of the Jewish nation*¹.

The same remark will apply, though with an inferior degree of strength, to the case of Pharaoh and the Egyptians. A large portion of two successive books of the Pentateuch is devoted to the history of Israel in the land of

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 5. p. 1.

Egypt. The inhabitants of that country are described, sometimes at amity with the chosen race, and sometimes oppressing them with the bitterest servitude; sometimes triumphant in their plan of subjugation, and sometimes smarting under the lash of ten grievous visitations. We are introduced to the scenes of their private life and of their public life: we listen to the discourse of imprisoned individuals: we have allusions, both to their theology, and to their customs, and to their history. Yet never is the slightest hint given, that they taught the immortality of the soul: *in none of these different circumstances of life*, so far as we can derive any information from Moses, *do we ever find them acting on the motives, or influenced by the prospect, of a FUTURE STATE; or indeed expressing the least hopes or fears, or even common curiosity, concerning it.* THEREFORE (on the principle of Bishop Warburton's negative argument) they must have been WHOLLY IGNORANT of any such doctrine. Yet Herodotus assures us, not only that they held *the immortality of the soul*, but that they held it from the most ancient times: for he represents them, as being the FIRST of mankind who taught and defended that tenet¹. Nay more,

¹ Herod. Hist. lib. ii. c. 123. On the same principle of negative evidence, some have argued not very cogently, that the pyramids of Egypt must needs be more recent than Homer; because, while the poet celebrates the hundred portals of Thebes, he says not a syllable respecting the more northern pyramids. I should conceive, that the account of

the bishop both allows the high antiquity of the tenet among them ; and compels himself, on the very ground of his own mode of reasoning, to confess that they *must* have had it from the earliest formation of their civil polity : for his avowed theory is, that every gentile legislator, at the commencement of well ordered society among each people, diligently inculcated the doctrine of a *future retributory state* as absolutely and essentially necessary to the firmness and well-being of temporal government¹.

Thus vague and inconclusive is the bishop's negative argument, even when the premises upon which it rests are admitted to their fullest extent.

(2.) But, in fact, the entire argument, as stated by his lordship, is built upon so palpable a fallacy, that one can scarcely refrain from wondering how it should have escaped detection from himself.

He deduces the TOTAL IGNORANCE of the ancient Israelites, not from THEIR OWN TOTAL SILENCE, but from THE TOTAL SILENCE OF THEIR HISTORIANS : as if it plainly followed, that THEY had never *uttered* a syllable on the subject, because THEIR HISTORIANS (for what-

them given by Herodotus will afford quite a sufficient answer to so very precarious a mode of reasoning. Even in his time, they were evidently considered by the Egyptians as being of a most remote antiquity.

¹ Div. Leg. book iii. sect. 4. p. 184. book ii. throughout.

ever reason) have not thought fit to *record* their words.

Can we suppose for a moment, that Abraham or Isaac or Jacob, who are acknowledged to have been well acquainted with the doctrine, never once made it a topic of conversation in their families, and never once declared it to be their grand hope and comfort in the midst of all their trials? Yet does the argument of Bishop Warburton, if fairly urged (as it ought to be) in the case of the ancient patriarchs as well as of the ancient Israelites, require us to believe, that, BECAUSE Moses does not *record* any such language as employed by Abraham or his two successors, THEREFORE they never *did employ* such language.

The whole argument, in short, is built upon the grossly fallacious presumption; that, if an historian omit to notice the doctrine of *a future state* when treating of any particular people, we are clearly bound to infer from *his* silence the total ignorance of *that people* respecting the doctrine in question.

Thus, on the bishop's principles, because Tacitus, in his admirable treatise on the manners of the Germans, is entirely silent as to their belief in the doctrine of *a future state*; though he might so naturally have been led to mention it, when discussing their theology: we must therefore conclude, that they were quite ignorant of any such tenet. If the brevity of that

treatise be urged as a sufficient reason for the historian's silence, the reply is ready at hand : Cesar, in his much shorter sketch of the manners of the Gauls, gives a very prominent place to the Druidical doctrine, that souls do not perish after death, but flit transmigratively from one body to another ; while, in his annexed picture of the manners of the Germans, he preserves the same suspicious silence as Tacitus with respect to their belief in the doctrine of a *future state*¹.

Here then we have the negative testimony of two eminent historians, that the Germans looked not for any existence beyond the present world : and, accordingly, if we read the more elaborate treatise of Tacitus, in none of the different circumstances of life wherein he exhibits them, do we ever find them acting on the motives or influenced by the prospect of a future state of rewards and punishments. Insomuch, that, if nothing had come down to us respecting the ancient Germans beyond what Cesar and Tacitus have recorded, as nothing has come down to us respecting the ancient Israelites beyond what Moses and a few other writers have recorded ; we should have been compelled on Bishop Warburton's principles to maintain, that our Teutonic forefathers were quite ignorant of the doctrine in question.

¹ Cæsar. de bell. Gall. lib. vi. § 13—23.

2. Hitherto I have discussed the bishop's NEGATIVE argument, *conceding* to him the basis on which it rests, namely *the TOTAL SILENCE of the Hebrews under all circumstances with regard to a future state of existence*: but I am inclined to think, both that he has very greatly exaggerated the matter, and that in his assertions he has not always been either perfectly accurate or quite consistent even with himself.

I omit, for the present, *the early patriarchs*: because, however their alleged silence may bear upon the bishop's assertion, that *Moses studiously forebore in any part of his writings to teach the doctrine of a future state*; it does not precisely bear upon his other assertion, now more immediately in hand, that *the body of the early Israelites had no expectations of a future state of rewards and punishments*¹.

(1.) Throughout the whole of his lordship's statement there runs, I think, very evidently a vein of decided exaggeration.

He assumes, that, under whatever circumstances a man may be placed, whether of prosperity or of adversity, whether of safety or of difficulty, whether of health or of sickness, whether of captivity or of victory; he will immediately introduce in a prominent manner the doctrine of *a future state of retribution*, pro-

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 6. p. 133. book v. sect. 6. p. 196. sect. 5. p. 182.

vided he be acquainted with any such doctrine : so that his silence on that point may be fairly taken as a proof, that he either knows not, or believes not, the doctrine in question.

But is this perpetual and open reference to a future state, on all possible occasions, characteristic of *real* life ? I suspect, that such is very far from being the case in any age or in any country.

If a Mussulman be in affliction, his language is invariably that of decent resignation to the eternally predestined purpose of the Almighty : if a Christian be in sickness or in trouble, he expresses a devout hope that these visitations may be sanctified to the purifying of his soul. If a successful commander gain a victory, we have had more than one illustrious example in our own time of his ascribing the glory to God, while yet the event never led him to make any formal avowal of his belief in a future state : if a general suffer a defeat, he is anxious to have his character cleared and will strive to bear his misfortune with the honest moral bravery of a man and a soldier ; but he will not think it necessary to declare on such an occasion, that a futurity of rewards and punishments is a fixed article of his creed. In short, under most of the circumstances enumerated so eloquently by the bishop, however firm may be our persuasion that such a doctrine is a certain truth, we do not usually make any special profession of it

with our lips. Hence, so far as drawing any argument from them is concerned, we must erase nearly the whole list: and, as human nature operates pretty much the same, whatever may be the sex or age or condition of the parties; I do not see what great emolument can result to the bishop's cause from his studied enumeration of virgins and matrons and kings and soldiers and scholars and parents and merchants and husbandmen. The real question is; whether, in a vast majority of the cases supposed by his lordship, men and women usually come forward, and state in direct terms their full belief in the important doctrine before us: that is to say, if their words were accurately taken down and recorded, whether we could draw from their bare expressions any more positive demonstration of their belief, than we can from the bare recorded expressions of the ancient Israelites. According to the mode in which this question is answered, the bishop's negative argument will be light or weighty.

(2.) His lordship however not only thus exaggerates the matter, and exhibits it under a delusive aspect; but he is likewise not always quite consistent even with himself.

One of the cases, which he brings forward as evincing the total silence of the ancient Israelites on the doctrine of a *future state*, is that of persons *treasuring up their prophecies and predictions for the use of posterity*.

Now, since he is here speaking of the Israelites *themselves* contradistinctively both to their patriarchal ancestors and to their legislator Moses ; it is manifest, that, by the prophecies alluded to, we can understand neither the prophecies of Moses nor the prophecies of the older patriarchs. Such being the case, I see not what predictions the bishop can mean, when he speaks of *prophecies and predictions treasured up for the use of posterity*, save those which are contained in the sacred canon beginning with the oracles of Isaiah and ending with the oracles of Malachi : for, with some very trifling exceptions which are purely of an occasional nature, we have no other prophecies and predictions thus treasured up.

What then do we learn from these prophecies, in which the bishop has assured us that not a hint of a future state can be discovered ? In Isaiah we read : *Thy dead shall live ; my deceased, they shall rise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust ! For thy dew is as the dew of the dawn ; but the earth shall cast forth, as an abortion, the deceased tyrants*¹. In Daniel we read : *Many of them, that sleep in the dust of the earth, shall awake ; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they, that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament ; and they, that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever*².

Have we here no intimation of a future state ?

¹ Isaiah xxvi, 19.

² Dan. xii. 2, 3.

True; the bishop replies: but then *all texts, brought to prove the knowledge of it AFTER the time of David, are impertinent. What was known from this time could not supply the want of what was unknown for so many ages before. This therefore puts all the prophetic writings out of the question*¹.

In this passage, his lordship confesses, that the doctrine of a *future state* may be learned from the prophecies: yet, in his general summary of cases by which the ignorance of the ancient Israelites may be evinced, he describes them as being totally silent on the subject, whether exulting for benefits received, or *treasuring up their prophecies and predictions for the use of posterity*.

Nor have we yet reached the end of this great author's inconsistencies: in a third passage, written subsequent to both those which I have last cited, after observing that (in *his* sense of the words) *life and immortality was brought to light by the Gospel ALONE*, he adds that from such premises *results this further truth; that, were MOSES and the PROPHETS the commissioned servants of God, THEY COULD NOT by their office TEACH A FUTURE STATE, since it was ordained and reserved for the ministry of Jesus*².

Thus, it appears, that, in one place, we are assured, that no traces of a future state can be found in those prophecies and predictions which

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 1. p. 296.

² Ibid. book ix. chap. 1. p. 233.

the Israelites treasured up for the use of posterity ; in another place, that, as the doctrine was known after the time of David, it is impertinent to prove the point against the bishop's general argument by any passages drawn from the prophetic writings ; and lastly, in a third place, that, since the revelation of the doctrine was specially reserved for the ministry of Christ ALONE, it was plainly impossible, in the very nature of things, that either MOSES or the PROPHETS should have taught the doctrine in question.

Nor is the bishop more consistent with himself on another topic. It is not always very easy to follow him : for, when pressed by difficulties, he is apt to pull down with one hand what he had recently built up with the other¹.

In his summary as cited above, he remarks, while speaking of those Hebrew compositions which have come down to us, that *here the Israelites urge their moral precepts to their contemporaries*: and, in the delivery of these moral precepts, they are as silent upon the doctrine of *a future state*, as they are when *treasuring up their prophecies for the use of posterity*.

To what extant code or codes of moral precepts the bishop can allude, save to the two books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, I know not: yet, according to one of his declarations which I have recently cited, the adduction of either of

¹ Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.

these two books, whether in favour of his lordship's theory or in opposition to it, must needs be palpably irrelevant. *All texts*, we are informed, *brought to prove the knowledge of a future state AFTER the time of David*, are impertinent: for what was known from this time could not supply the want of what was unknown for so many ages before. Now the two books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes were written by Solomon AFTER the time of David. Hence, whether any traces of a future state *can* or *can not* be discovered in them, it must be alike impertinent, according to the bishop's chronological arrangement of the commencement of the doctrine among the Israelites, to adduce the authority of these two books on *either* side of the question. They are thrown entirely out of the debateable ground: for, since it is declared that *ALL texts brought to prove the knowledge of a future state AFTER the time of David are impertinent*, we must needs conclude it to be his lordship's opinion, that the doctrine was FIRST promulged immediately after the death of David; the writings of Solomon clearly coming under the general character of *ALL texts AFTER the time of his royal father*.

So far then as we can judge from the evidence *at present* before us, Bishop Warburton maintained, that the doctrine was wholly unknown BEFORE the death of David, but that it began to be known IMMEDIATELY AFTER his death: for, unless such was his opinion, it were plainly quite

beside the mark for him to assert, that *ALL texts brought to prove the knowledge of it AFTER the time of David are impertinent*. We might therefore, even on his own principles as thus laid down, very naturally expect to find, in the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, some notices of a future state of existence, to which the bishop himself would never think of making any objection. Accordingly, when it is said in the book of Proverbs, *The wicked is driven away in his wickedness, BUT THE RIGHTEOUS HATH HOPE IN HIS DEATH*¹; or when it is yet more explicitly said in the book of Ecclesiastes, *Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and THE SPIRIT SHALL RETURN UNTO GOD WHO GAVE IT*²: it might well seem alike nugatory and irrelevant for his lordship to waste his ingenuity in striving to wrest from these texts their plain and natural signification; for, if it be impertinent to bring *ANY* text written *AFTER* the time of David as a proof that a future state was known to the Israelites, it must be equally impertinent to employ superfluous labour to shew that *this* text or *that* text written *AFTER* the time of David has no relation to the doctrine of *a future state*. Yet does the bishop not only throw away his time in endeavouring to prove, what upon his own principles he was no way bound to prove, that these two remarkable texts mean any thing or every thing rather than

¹ Prov. xiv. 32.² Eccles. xii. 7.

what they might obviously appear to mean¹: but, as I have already observed, he completely departs from his identical principles themselves, by roundly declaring; that, so far from either Moses or the Prophets or any other Hebrew writer having ACTUALLY set forth the doctrine of a *future state*, they absolutely COULD NOT teach that doctrine, BECAUSE it was ordained and reserved for the SOLE ministry of Jesus Christ².

(3.) These preliminary matters being discussed, the true field of our inquiry, according to the bishop's own principles (though it must be confessed he does not always adhere to them), is brought within the comparatively narrow limits of the period, which extends from the death of Moses to the death of David. His lordship's assertion therefore, when expressed with less eloquence though with more brevity than it is set

¹ The bishop contends, that Prov. xiv. 32. means nothing more, than that *the righteous hath hope that he shall be delivered from the most imminent dangers*; though, in what manner the phrase *hope* IN *his death* can be equivalent to the phrase *deliverance* FROM *imminent danger*, it is not very easy to comprehend: and, as for Eccles. xii. 7, he disposes of it on the ground, that the ancient Israelites, like some of the ancient pagan philosophers, believed the soul, after the death of the body, to be reabsorbed into the divine essence whence it had originally emanated. *Ευρησει τα σαθρα των Φιλιππε πραγματων αυτος ο πολεμος.* A system must be hard pressed, when it requires in *such* a manner to be extricated. See Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 3. p. 411. book v. sect. 6. p. 196—198.

² Div. Leg. book ix. chap. 1. p. 233.

forth in his already quoted summary of his argument, is this : that, *throughout that period, not a single ancient Israelite, under whatever circumstances he may be placed, gives the slightest intimation that he either knew or believed the doctrine of a future state.* Such, when stripped of much exaggeration and no small share of inconsistency, is the real sum and substance of the bishop's assertion. Let us now therefore inquire, how far it is accurate.

I shall begin with observing, that, if we except the Psalms of David, every composition relating to that period, which has come down to us, is purely of an *historical* nature. Some few songs or speeches indeed are, here and there, sparingly intermingled : but all the sacred books, which treat of that period, with the sole exception of the Psalms, are decidedly *historical*. Now what is the character of historical compositions ? Do we usually find them departing from their avowed purpose, in order to teach us that this person or that person believed in a state of future rewards and punishments ? Let us read the histories of Greece, or of Rome, or of France, or of England : and let us sum up how often, in so many words, the persons, who are brought upon the stage, either formally express their belief in this doctrine, or act as if it were the leading motive which influenced all their conduct. I suspect, that instances of such a description, like the Lycian mariners of the faithful Orontes, will

only be seen floating rarely on the surface of the vast historical profound¹. On the very principle therefore of *this* style of composition, we must not form any romantic expectations of a perpetual reference to the doctrine of *a future state* in the national records of the Hebrews. If here and there we find some scanty notices of it or allusions to it, we shall have as much as we could reasonably anticipate. To the Psalms, which are devotional compositions, we must chiefly direct our inquiries: they will obviously, from the very nature of the case, be almost entirely fruitless, if directed to any *other* quarter.

In this collection then of sacred hymns we need not travel very far to satisfy ourselves, that their author must have been familiarly acquainted with the doctrine of *a future state*; though I pretend not to say, what in truth would contradict St. Paul's assertion relative to life and immortality being BROUGHT TO LIGHT by the Gospel, that his views were as distinct as the views of those who have the high privilege of living under the Christian Dispensation.

I have set the Lord alway before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth: MY FLESH ALSO SHALL REST IN HOPE. FOR THOU WILT NOT LEAVE MY SOUL IN HADES; NEITHER WILT THOU SUFFER THINE HOLY ONE TO SEE

¹ Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.

CORRUPTION. *Thou wilt shew me THE PATH OF LIFE : in thy presence is fulness of joy ; and, at thy right hand, there are pleasures for evermore* ¹.

Deliver my soul from the wicked, which is thy sword ; from men which are thy hand, O Lord ; from men of the world, WHICH HAVE THEIR PORTION IN THIS LIFE, and whose belly thou fillest with thy hid treasure : they are full of children, and leave the rest of their substance to their babes. AS FOR ME, I WILL BEHOLD THY FACE IN RIGHTEOUSNESS : WHEN I AWAKE, I SHALL BE SATISFIED WITH THY LIKENESS ².

Yea, THOUGH I WALK THROUGH THE VALLEY OF THE SHADOW OF DEATH, I will fear no evil : FOR THOU ART WITH ME ; THY ROD AND THY STAFF THEY COMFORT ME ³.

Thou wilt guide me with thy counsel, AND AFTERWARD RECEIVE ME TO GLORY ⁴.

As for man, his days are as grass : as a flower of the field, so he flourisheth. For the wind passeth over it, and it is gone : and the place thereof shall know it no more. BUT THE MERCY OF THE LORD IS FROM EVERLASTING TO EVERLASTING UPON THEM THAT FEAR HIM ⁵.

Can we believe with Bishop Warburton, that the writer who composed these passages was wholly ignorant of a future state, and that he had no hope or expectation beyond the present life ?

¹ Psalm xvi. 8—11.

² Ibid. xvii. 13—15.

³ Ibid. xxiii. 4.

⁴ Ibid. lxxiii. 24.

⁵ Ibid. ciii. 15—17.

In one of them, he speaks of the soul being left in Sheol or Hades, while the body suffers corruption: and then foretells respecting the great promised Deliverer, that he should be exempted, both soul and body, from this ordinary condition of mortality¹. In another, he contrasts the lot of the wicked with the lot of the righteous: the former have their portion in *this* life; the latter, when they awake from the sleep of death, have their portion in a *future* life, where they behold the face of God and are satisfied with his likeness. In another, he professes to fear no evil though in the very article of death; and the reason, which he assigns, is wholly inconsistent with the idea of the soul's annihilation: *thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me*. In another, he speaks contradistinctively of God's first guiding him with his counsel *here* and then receiving him to glory *hereafter*. And, in another, he moralizes upon the proverbial shortness of human life: but, at the same time, what is quite unintelligible and impertinent except we suppose him to have held the doctrine of a *future state*, he comforts himself with the reflection, that *the mercy of the Lord is FROM EVERLASTING TO EVERLASTING upon them that fear him*.

Three of these passages are noticed by the bishop: and, as they stand in direct opposition to his system, he of course endeavours to ex-

¹ See the inspired comment in Acts ii. 22—31.

plain away their natural and obvious meaning¹. But, to pass over the mischievous and dangerous

¹ Respecting Psalm xvi. 8—11, viewed as primarily spoken by the author in his own person, Bishop Warburton asserts, that the expression *Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hell or in Hades* is merely equivalent to *Thou wilt not suffer me to fall immaturally*, as was the lot of the transgressors of the Law. Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 3. § II. 7. p. 405. Never surely was there a more complete specimen of the *quidlibet ex quolibet*: the *not LEAVING the soul in the invisible state*, whither it is conveyed AFTER death, is summarily decided to mean the *not suffering a person to DIE IMMATURELY*; an extension of life, which must of course be BEFORE death.

So again: respecting Psalm xvii. 13—15, the bishop will allow of no antithesis between *the wicked having their portion in this life*, and *the pious awaking to behold the face of God in righteousness*. Of the former phrase, the import is, *The wicked are perfectly prosperous*: by the latter we are to understand *the awaking of David to pay his morning adorations before the ark*, or *the awaking of God's glory*, or what we please, provided only we do not refer it to the king's awaking from the sleep of death. Ibid. § II. 8. p. 407—409.

In a similar manner, respecting Psalm lxxiii. 24, we are not to fancy, that there is any intended opposition between *the Lord's guiding the Psalmist with his counsel*, and then AFTERWARDS *receiving him to glory*. We have only, *with an excellent critic*, to translate the Hebrew *Futures* as if they were *Preterites*, though neither of the verbs has the convasive *Vau* prefixed: and the business is done. *Thou HAST LED me with thy counsel, and afterwards HAST RECEIVED me with glory*. That is to say, as the Bishop remarks, though apparently not quite satisfied with the proposed new translation: *Thou WAST, or SHALT BE, always present with me in difficulties and distresses: and SHALT LEAD and CONDUCT me to better fortunes*. Ibid. § II. 12. p. 410, 411.

tendency of trying such causidical experiments upon the sacred text, let us pause a moment, while we consider how the argument stands.

By his lordship's own confession the doctrine of a *future state* was known to Abraham and his whole family : whence it will follow, that, since the inspired writer to the Hebrews declares it to have been equally known to Jacob ; we may be sure, that it must have been equally familiar to the numerous family of that patriarch also, which, at the time of his descent into Egypt, consisted of seventy persons exclusive of women and domestic servants. The doctrine being thus known to such a host of witnesses ; and their descendants sojourning among a people, who were themselves even proverbial for their belief in this very doctrine, and who (according both to Herodotus and to the bishop's own theory) must have had it from the very first : we are altogether precluded from admitting the palpably gross absurdity, that a venerable and deeply interesting tenet, already known to so many, should yet have been entirely forgotten and entirely obliterated from the minds of the Israelites in the course of those very few generations which intervened between the family of Jacob and the contemporaries of Moses. Hence, unless we be content to receive a pretended fact which beggars all credibility and which itself would never have been asserted save for its manifest necessity to a system, we must allow, that the knowledge of a

future state prevailed among the Israelites at the time of their exodus from Egypt. But this circumstance multiplies the witnesses to an almost incalculable degree : and thence of necessity renders it scarcely more possible, that the doctrine should ever be lost in the Levitical than in the Christian Church. Respecting the sentiments of the Hebrews from the day of the exodus down to the reign of David, a period comprehending the space of about some 440 years, we have scarcely any notice : but the reason is obvious ; no writings are extant relative to that period save historical compositions, the very nature of which forbids us to expect much information on the subject. Yet, if the doctrine were known to the Israelites at the time of the exodus, is it rational to suppose or to assert, that their descendants had quite lost all recollection of it in the course of little more than four centuries ?

Thus stands the case, when we turn to the Psalms of David. Now in those Psalms we find various passages ; which, according to their most natural and obvious construction, would lead us to conclude, that the doctrine of *a future state* was perfectly familiar to their author. But we have already seen, by tracing the evidence from link to link ; that, if this doctrine was known to Abraham and his whole family (which the bishop fully admits), it is only not physically impossible that it should be unknown to the contemporaries of David. Are we then to understand the pas-

sages according to their natural construction ; a matter independently required by the almost absolute certainty that the doctrine of a *future state* must have been well known to David and his contemporaries : or must we so manage them, that they may be painfully constrained to yield a sense quite different from their obvious and unsophisticated meaning ; a matter, forbidden indeed by the almost moral certainty that the doctrine was known in the time of David, but plainly required by the system of a very learned and ingenious modern ? It is scarcely necessary to give a formal answer to such a question.

So much for *the Psalms*. With regard to the period which elapsed between the death of Moses and the accession of David, all that we know respecting it is given in the four historical books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, and the document which is usually called *the first book of Samuel* : and these four books jointly contain eighty short chapters ; of which eleven are occupied, in merely defining the borders, and specifying the cities, which were allotted to the several tribes ; while four, which constitute the entire book of *Ruth*, give indeed a most interesting private narrative, but a narrative into which no allusion to a future state could well be introduced without manifest violence and constraint. Our means of inquiry therefore, as to the sentiments of the ancient Israelites on this point after their occupation of Palestine, are limited to sixty five short

chapters or sections of three strictly historical documents. Such being the case, we should have little reason to wonder, even if we found nothing at all on the subject in a history of about four centuries given with this extreme brevity. But in this narrative, short as it is, we may observe more than a single reference to a future state of existence.

In his last exhortation to the assembled Israelites, Joshua, much as any of ourselves might do, uses the familiar expression; *Behold, this day I am going the way of all the earth*¹. Now what are we to suppose the chieftain intended by such language: or how would he be understood by his auditory; each of whom, as we have already traced the matter from premises allowed by Bishop Warburton himself, must needs have been well acquainted with the doctrine of *a future state*? Shall we say, that *he* expressed, and that *they* understood him to express, his full conviction and assurance of speedy annihilation? When the preceding remarks have been duly considered, we shall scarcely, I think, put such an interpretation upon his words. We shall rather deem them an allusion to a future state, set forth as copiously as the limits of a very brief history would permit.

I pretend not to find any other reference to the doctrine, until we reach the days of Saul; but

¹ Josh. xxiii. 14.

then neither can I discover, how it *could* have been referred to without a manifest violation of the laws of good writing: for as well might we expect, that an English historian should stop short in the midst of the battle of Agincourt to assure us that Henry and his nobles firmly held the immortality of the soul, as that the writer of the book of Judges should interrupt the defeat of Sisera to give us Barak's confession of faith; or that a victorious naval commander of modern days should add to his devout acknowledgment of the divine assistance a formal recognition of a future retributory state, as that Deborah should introduce a similar acknowledgment into the exulting strains of her poetical epinicion. In the reign of Saul however we meet with a clear and distinct avowal on the part of the king himself, that he firmly believed in the continued existence of the soul after death. When the king consulted the pythoness of Endor, his request was, *Bring me him up whom I shall name unto thee.* To this the woman replied, *whom shall I bring up unto thee?* And his answer was, *Bring me up Samuel*¹. It is quite foreign to my purpose to discuss the nature of the subsequent apparition: the conversation between the pythoness and the king is amply sufficient for my argument. Had Saul and the woman alike believed the human soul to be annihilated after death, the one could

¹ 1 Sam. xxviii. 8, 11.

never have requested that the ghost of Samuel should be evoked, and the other could never have undertaken to accomplish such a request. On the theory of Bishop Warburton, the whole narrative is a tissue of impossible absurdities. Had the ancient Israelites held the human soul to be annihilated after death, as we hold the spirits of beasts to be annihilated after death; the king could no more have thought of evocating the ghost of Samuel, than a believer in necromancy during the reign of our glamour-learned first James would have thought of evocating the ghost of a deceased horse or cow.

Here then we have a distinct proof, that the doctrine of *a future state* was known to Saul: nor was it any way peculiar, either to the prince himself or to the age in which he lived. The Mosaical laws, which prohibit all necromantic evocations, and which Saul himself was at one time peculiarly zealous to enforce, plainly suppose the superstitious abomination to be well known and to be of very wide prevalence: but, in supposing this, they at the same time inevitably suppose also, that the existence of the human soul after death was universally admitted and believed¹.

¹ Compare Levit. xix. 31. xx. 6, 27. Deut. xviii. 9—12. with 1 Sam. xxviii. 3, 7—11. From this comparison it will be evident, that one of the prohibited modes of divining was by necromancy or the pretended evocation of the souls of the dead. But no person could use such a mode, who believed the soul to be annihilated when it quitted the body.

II. We now come to the POSITIVE argument of the bishop: which is built, partly on the alleged declarations to be found in the Old Testament, that the Israelites had no popular expectation of a future state or resurrection; and partly on the alleged assertions discoverable in the New Testament, that the doctrine of *a future state of rewards and punishments* did not make part of the Mosaic Dispensation.

1. With respect to the alleged declarations which the bishop produces from the Old Testament, some of them involve him in the same charge of inconsistency as that which I have already ventured to bring against him, while others draw after them a yet more serious consequence than the inconsistency of any mere individual however great his talents may be.

His lordship asserts, that *all texts, brought to prove the knowledge of a future state AFTER the time of David, are impertinent*: because, WHAT WAS KNOWN *from this time could not supply the want of* WHAT WAS UNKNOWN *for so many ages before*¹.

If then it be impertinent to prove the KNOWLEDGE of the Israelites respecting a future state, through the medium of passages written AFTER the time of David; *on the express ground* of its having been conceded, that, *subsequent* to the time of that prince, they POSSESSED such know-

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 1. p. 296.

ledge: it must surely be worse than impertinent to prove their IGNORANCE of the doctrine, through the medium of passages written during a period, when it is allowed that they were NOT IGNORANT of it. Yet precisely such is the mode, in which the bishop conducts his argument. He produces three passages, one from *the book of Ecclesiastes*, another from *the thanksgiving of Hezekiah*, and a third from *the Lamentations of Jeremiah*; all of which are to prove, not merely the general ignorance of the people, but the equal ignorance of a very wise king and of a very pious king and of a very learned priest: yet were all these passages written AFTER *the time of David*; and therefore during a period when the doctrine is allowed to have been so competently KNOWN, that *all texts, brought to prove the knowledge of it from any writers of that period, are manifestly impertinent*. The doctrine in short, according to the bishop, was KNOWN among the Israelites *after* the time of David: but, by some inexplicable fatality, Solomon and Hezekiah and Jeremiah, each of whom flourished *after* the time of David, were alike IGNORANT of it.

A much more serious consequence however, than the inconsistency of an individual, flows from the interpretation given by the bishop of others of the texts which he has produced.

In sacred history, as well as in any other history, *a private person* may be introduced speak-

ing his own sentiments: and those sentiments may themselves be either right or wrong: the recording historian does not stand compromised by the bare circumstance of his having been the recorder. But, when an inspired writer speaks with *his own* voice, he can speak nothing but the most perfect truth: for it is a blasphemous contradiction to say, that an inspired writer can utter falsehoods. It is easy indeed to conceive, that God may not so fully inspire a prophet as that he should be able to declare the *whole* truth: hence, had the writers of the Old Testament been *altogether silent* on the doctrine of a *future state*, it were no impeachment of their claims to inspiration; because they might have received no commission to set forth that doctrine. But, if, instead of preserving *a total silence*, they come forward and unreservedly declare, *while speaking in their own persons*, that THERE IS NO FUTURE STATE; when yet we know from the highest possible authority, that THERE IS A FUTURE STATE: I am at a loss to understand, how we are to save their credit as *inspired* writers. Thus, when the woman of Tekoah uses an expression, which implies (as the bishop thinks) her complete disbelief of a future state; the inspired historian merely records the language of an un-inspired individual: but, when David or Solomon, writing under the immediate impulse of inspiration, equally declare (as the bishop contends) that there is no future state; are we to

admit or to reject their alleged declaration? If the former; what becomes of the doctrine itself? If the latter; what are we to think of *their* inspiration? An inspired writer *may* be *silent* on a particular doctrine: but, *as* an inspired writer, it is *impossible* that he should *utter a direct falsehood*.

These considerations ought to teach us much more caution than Bishop Warburton has evinced, while interpreting the texts in question.

That the pious Hezekiah should openly avow his disbelief of a future state, during the very period when (according to the bishop himself) the doctrine was *known* among the Israelites, may well seem passing strange: nor will the singularity of the circumstance be diminished by the recollection; that, if the bishop expound his words aright, he chose above all other times, as the most appropriate season for this extraordinary avowal, the very day of his miraculous recovery from a mortal sickness. But, strange as may have been the conduct of Hezekiah, the language of David and Solomon and Jeremiah and the author of the book of Job is tenfold more unaccountable, if the bishop be a faithful interpreter of it, on the supposition of their being all inspired writers. Most reasonably then may we doubt, whether his lordship has not greatly misunderstood them.

And here I may remark, that the bishop cannot be allowed to extricate himself: sometimes

by asserting, that, *were Moses and the prophets the commissioned servants of God, they COULD NOT teach a future state, since it was EXCLUSIVELY ordained and reserved for the ministry of Jesus*¹; and at other times by declaring, that the doctrine *was gradually opened by the prophets to the people*, and that it is plainly impertinent to adduce against his theory any text written AFTER the time of David because WHAT WAS KNOWN FROM THIS TIME *could not supply the want of what was unknown for so many ages before*². The doctrine either WAS, or WAS NOT, known previous to the ministration of Christ: and we have a right to demand, that the bishop should steadily adhere either to the *one* or to the *other* position. If it WAS known, *previous* to the ministration of Christ and *after* the time of David; then nothing can be more nugatory and irrelevant, than to adduce passages, written during this intermediate period of confessed KNOWLEDGE, by way of proving the perfect IGNORANCE of the Israelites: if, on the contrary, it WAS NOT known, or rather if his lordship finally *maintains* that it WAS NOT known; then it is equally nugatory to declare, that all passages, brought from writings *posterior* to the time of David with the view of confuting such an opinion, are manifestly impertinent. Let the bishop take *either* side of the alternative; and

¹ Div. Leg. book ix. chap. 1. p. 233.

² Ibid. book vi. sect. 5. p. 1. sect. 1. p. 296.

his reasoning, in one part or other of his great work, will still be found inconclusive and contradictory: but by no rules of sound logic can he be allowed, first to take *this* side and then to take *that* side, first to maintain that the doctrine WAS known before the ministration of Christ and then to maintain that the doctrine NEITHER WAS NOR EVEN COULD BE known before the ministration of Christ; just as the one or the other opinion may best serve his current train of argument.

On the grounds which have just been stated, I have no fear in asserting, that, let the passages adduced by the bishop in the prosecution of his POSITIVE argument mean what they may; it is *utterly impossible*, with the single exception of that spoken by the woman of Tekoah, that they should set forth, as the avowed belief of their respective authors, the doctrine that there is no future state but that the soul immediately perishes upon the death of the body.

Let us however notice each of these passages; and see, whether it must of necessity bear the sense which his lordship ascribes to it.

(1.) The first passage, adduced by him, is taken from the speech of the woman of Tekoah to king David.

*We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground which cannot be gathered up again*¹.

¹ 2 Sam. xiv. 14.

The occasion of the woman's using such a mode of expression was, as follows.

After Absalom had been three years in banishment on account of his having slain his brother Amnon, Joab, in order to effect a reconciliation between him and his father David, employed, after the manner of the East, a wise woman of Tekoah to influence the king through the medium of a parable or apologue. For this purpose, having gained an audience of her sovereign, she told him, that one of her two sons had unfortunately slain the other; that the whole family of the deceased, in their quality of revengers of blood, demanded the death of the offender, he not having had time or opportunity to flee to a city of refuge¹; and that, under such distress, she implored on his behalf the royal protection. To this request David assented: and, when he had thus pledged himself to the *imaginary* case in the apologue, his appellant forthwith threw off her disguise and made the application to the *real* case of his own family.

We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground which cannot be gathered up again. It is fruitless to lament the dead, for it exceeds all our power to restore them to life. Why then should the king be more inexorable than the law of Jehovah? God respects not any person: yet, with regard to homicides, doth he devise means,

¹ Numb. xxxv. 10—28.

at the death of each high-priest, *that his banished be not expelled from him. Therefore the king doth speak this thing as one which is faulty, in that he doth not fetch home again his banished son Absalom.*

The cases were by no means parallel : but they served to furnish materials for an apologue. With respect to the woman however, so far from expressing any disbelief of a future state, she merely uses the trite proverb : *What is done, cannot be undone.* Amnon is dead : and, grieve as you will for him, you cannot restore him to life.

(2.) The second passage, which the bishop brings forward, is taken from the book of Job.

There is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again and that the tender branch thereof will not cease. Though the root thereof wax old in the earth, and the stock thereof die in the ground ; yet, through the scent of water, it will bud and bring forth boughs like a plant. But man dieth and wasteth away : yea, man giveth up the ghost ; and where is he ? As the waters fall from the sea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up : so man lieth down and riseth not, till the heavens be no more ; they shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep¹.

Such, no doubt, is the language either of Job

¹ Job xiv. 7—12. And again : *As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away ; so he, that goeth down to the grave, shall come up no more. He shall return no more to his house : neither shall his place know him any more.* Job vii. 9, 10. The two passages are exactly parallel.

himself or of the inspired author who wrote his history. But what then? Have we here any avowal of an utter disbelief in a future state? I can discover nothing beyond an assertion, that, when once man dies, we must never expect him to revive again in this world; an assertion, which, if viewed in an insulated state, is exactly parallel to that of the woman of Tekoah.

But, in truth, there is a most remarkable and important supplement to the present assertion, which the bishop has wholly omitted to notice. After saying, *They shall not awake, nor be raised out of their sleep*; the holy man goes on to explain very clearly, how we are to understand these expressions.

*O that THOU Wouldest HIDE ME IN HADES, that THOU Wouldest KEEP ME IN SECRET UNTIL THY WRATH BE PAST, that THOU Wouldest APPOINT ME A SET TIME AND REMEMBER ME. If a man die, shall he live? ALL THE DAYS OF MY APPOINTED TIME WILL I WAIT, TILL MY RENOVATION COME. Thou shalt call, and I WILL ANSWER THEE: thou shalt have a desire to the work of thine hands*¹.

Now what is the doctrine, which Job here sets forth? Does he *profess*, or *deny* a belief in a future state of existence? Nothing, so far as I can judge, is more unambiguous than his lan-

¹ Job xiv. 13—15.

guage. Though, agreeably to the common lot of mortality, he has no expectation of being raised again from the dead in *this* world : yet he commits his soul to God as to a faithful Creator ; praying, that after death he would hide him for a season in the intermediate state of Hades, that he would there keep him in secret until his wrath be past, that he would remember him and appoint him a set time of deliverance from the safe keeping of his invisible prison. Meanwhile he is content to wait with patience all the days of his appointed time : for, though his body will never in this world germinate again like a cut-down plant ; yet, in evident allusion to the imagery which he had just before been using, he expresses an assured hope, that the time of his renovation or regermination would come¹. Then, at the period of his admission into the immediate beatific presence, God will call, and Job will answer him : for, though his body may for a season be dissolved in the grave, and though his soul may long continue to exist separately in the invisible intermediate state ; yet the Lord has in no wise forgotten him, but will at length have a desire to the work of his hands.

¹ *Till my RENOVATION come*, as the original is excellently rendered by Miss Smith. The word expresses the regermination of a lopped tree : and it is the very same as that, which, in the seventh verse, our translators properly render *it will SPROUT again*.

Thus, when the *entire* passage is viewed, instead of proving Job's *ignorance* of a future state, it furnishes a most illustrious demonstration of his *faith* and *knowledge*¹.

(3.) The bishop next produces three texts from the book of Psalms.

*In death there is no remembrance of thee: in Hades who shall give thee thanks*²?

*What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit? Shall the dust praise thee? Shall it declare thy truth*³?

*Wilt thou shew wonders to the dead? Shall the dead arise and praise thee? Shall thy loving kindness be declared in the grave, or thy faithfulness in destruction? Shall thy wonders be known in the dark, and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness*⁴?

These passages his lordship deems so decisive and explicit as to require no comment. Yet, after all, what do they prove; particularly when viewed, as they assuredly ought to be viewed, with reference to those other texts from the

¹ In the fourteenth verse, the present Hebrew runs; *If a man die, shall he live?* But the copy, used by the Seventy, must have wanted the interrogative prefix: for they translate the passage, not interrogatively, but affirmatively. *If a man die, HE SHALL LIVE having accomplished the days of his life: I will wait, until I shall again exist.* Εαν γαρ αποθανη ανθρωπος, ζησεται συντελεσας ημερας τας βιαι αυτου υπομενω, εως αν παλιν γενωμαι. If we adopt this reading, I need scarcely remark how the force of the passage is heightened: but it is sufficiently decisive, even according to the common Hebrew reading.

² Psalm vi. 6. ³ Ibid. xxx. 9. ⁴ Ibid. lxxxviii. 10—12.

Psalms, in which an expectation of a future state is so distinctly avowed¹?

The first of them declares, that in death and in the invisible state of intermediate existence no such service is performed to God, as man performs upon earth during his allotted time of probation.

The second of them speaks much the same language: for it equally intimates, that the work of man is to be performed, only while he continues *here*.

And, as for the third of them, I see not what it declares beyond what both Job and the woman of Tekoah equally declare; that we are to expect no resurrection of the dead to their ancient callings and occupations on this terrestrial globe: a fond notion, held indeed by the pagans who believed that in each successive world the same human characters would reappear and act over again the very same parts, yet unknown and disclaimed by those who enjoyed the benefit of revelation. But are we on this account to fancy, that the Psalmist wholly disbelieved the doctrine of a *future state*, and that the spirit of God speaking through his organs announced to the Church of Israel that it was no better than an idle dream? Yet to this conclusion are we brought, if we adopt Bishop Warburton's view of the passage.

¹ See above book ii. chap. 3. sect. 2. § I. 2. (3.)

(4.) The writer however of the book of Ecclesiastes is cited by the bishop as being still more express.

*For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten*¹.

With respect to this text, would we determine its true import, we must ascertain the sense in which the author speaks of *the dead as no more having a reward*. Here the only real question is, whether, by the term *reward*, we must understand *a reward in a future state of existence or a reward in this present life*. In order to answer this question, let us observe the context of the passage. Now, in the immediately following verse, the inspired writer goes on to say: *Also their love and their hatred and their envy is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is under the sun*². How then are we to understand the *entire* passage? The bishop himself acknowledges, that the term *reward* in the first clause is explained by the phrase *a portion in any thing that is under the sun* in the second clause. Hence it is manifest, that *the reward*, which the dead possess no longer, is *a reward in this world*.

We might now well imagine the question to be settled: but this his lordship will not allow.

¹ Eccles. ix. 5.

² Ibid. ix. 6.

Instead of drawing from such an explanation its obvious and natural inference, he rather chooses to draw one exactly contrary : namely, *that the sacred writer, from the consideration of the dead not returning to life to enjoy their reward, concluded; that, when once death had seized them, they could have no reward at all.*

In what manner an assertion, that *the dead have no more a reward* HERE, can be made equivalent to an assertion, that *they have no reward* AT ALL *either* HERE *or* HEREAFTER ; I confess myself unable to comprehend.

But this is not the only part of the context, which we ought to notice. The reason, which the author gives *why the dead have no more a reward*, is *because the memory of them is forgotten*. Now this reason determines *the reward* spoken of to be *a reward* EXCLUSIVELY *in the present world*. For, though oblivion of the dead be cause enough why they have no more reward HERE, not even the reward of posthumous celebrity ; it is most certainly no cause at all, why they should not have a reward HEREAFTER. Add to these remarks the bishop's own concession, that the doctrine of *a future state* was known after the time of David and therefore in the time of Solomon ; and then crown the whole by an adduction of that remarkable passage from this very book of Ecclesiastes, wherein the writer declares his full belief, that after death *the*

*dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it*¹: after having done this, we may form some estimate of the probability, that Solomon, writing under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, sought diligently to inculcate the Sadducèan tenet of *the soul's annihilation*.

What then at length is the true import of the passage? Evidently this: *the souls of the dead in Hades know not what is passing in this world; they have no more a reward or a portion in any thing that is under the sun, because even the very memory of them is often forgotten; their love and their hatred and their envy, which agitated them while in this life, are now alike perished; all sublunary things appear to them lighter than dust in the balance; their minds are wholly occupied with the thought of their eternally fixed destination either to happiness or to unhappiness*².

¹ Eccles. xii. 7.

² Much after the same manner speaks Creon in one of the dramas of Sophocles: whence, according to the bishop's mode of arguing, we might distinctly prove, that the ancient Greeks were wholly ignorant of the doctrine of *a future state*.

Θυμὸς γὰρ ἔδεν γῆρας ἐστὶν ἄλλο πλὴν

θανεῖν· θανόντων δ' ἔδεν ἀλγος ἀπτεται.

Anger knows not old age, save in death alone: but no sorrow touches the dead. Œdip. Colon. ver. 1007, 1008. Yet what would be thought of such an argument, built upon such a passage? The passage however is in substance the very same as Eccles. ix. 5, 6; which, in the hands of the bishop,

(5.) Just in the same manner we must obviously understand the language of Hezekiah, which constitutes the next passage cited by the bishop.

*Hades shall not praise thee : death shall not celebrate thee : they that go down into the pit, shall not hope for thy truth. The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day*¹.

Can we believe, that the pious Hezekiah, who flourished during a period when (by the bishop's own confession) the doctrine of *a future state* was opened by the prophets even to the very people, strenuously advocated nevertheless the tenet of *the soul's annihilation*²? Would Isaiah have recorded such strange conduct on the part of the king, without branding it with the slightest mark of vituperation? The supposition is surely too monstrous to be tolerated for a single moment.

(6.) Barely noticing the text from Jeremiah, *Our fathers have sinned and are not, and we have borne their iniquities*³; a text, which furnishes the bishop with another proof that those identical prophets, by whom *the dawning of a future state was gradually opened to the people*, were themselves most unaccountably ignorant of the doc-

demonstrates the utter ignorance of the Israelites respecting a future state of existence.

¹ Isaiah xxxviii. 18, 19.

² Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 5. p. 1.

³ Jerem. v. 7.

trine that they taught to others : barely noticing this text, I proceed to the last passage adduced by his lordship, as finally and decisively establishing his position, that *the body of the early Jews had no expectations of a future state of rewards and punishments.*

As the other passages, according to his lordship, teach us that the dead forget God ; so this last makes all sure, by declaring that God forgets them.

I am counted with them that go down into the pit: I am as a man that hath no strength. Free among the dead, like the slain that lie in the grave, whom thou rememberest no more: and they are cut off from thy hand¹.

By the phrase, *cut off from thy hand*, the bishop understands, that the dead are no longer the object of God's providence or moral government, being manumised or set free from it as a slave was manumised or set free from the service of his master.

I see no particular reason, why we should object to this interpretation : but I am unable to discover, how his lordship can legitimately deduce from it his favourite conclusion. The dead are certainly withdrawn from God's providence or moral government in this world, and are therefore manumised or set free from his service : but how is this to prove the belief of the

¹ Psalm lxxxviii. 4, 5.

old Israelites, that the soul is annihilated upon its separation from the body?

We have the reply at hand: the dead are characterized as being no more remembered of God.

Undoubtedly they are, and very truly too: but the question is, under what particular aspect they are so characterized; whether *absolutely*, or *relatively*? Now the context determines at once in favour of the latter. They are remembered of God no more, BECAUSE they are cut off from his hand. But they are cut off from his hand, because they have ceased to be the objects of his moral government in a state of probation: they are shut up in Hades, like prisoners after their trial, to be brought out for acquittal or condemnation at the great day of judgment; their destiny being now irrevocably fixed beyond the power of change. Therefore they cease to be remembered of God, not *absolutely*, but *relatively*: he remembers them no more, *as objects of his moral government in a state of probation*¹.

Thus it appears, that, of the several texts produced by the bishop, *one* decidedly establishes the very opposite doctrine from what they were cited to establish; *sic*, being fully capable of a different interpretation, cannot be allowed to afford any strength to his lordship's cause;

¹ Div. Leg. book v. sect. 5. p. 178—182.

and *three*, having been penned by writers who flourished when the doctrine of *a future state* was confessedly known, cannot be expounded as the bishop would expound them without a glaring and manifest inconsistency. Hence, to say nothing of other reasons which have been urged in the course of the argument, Bishop Warburton has apparently failed in that part of his POSITIVE demonstration which rests upon the canonical books of the Old Testament¹.

¹ The reader will observe, that in prosecuting the subject before us I have throughout understood the Hebrew *Sheol* and the Greek *Hades* to denote *the receptacle of departed souls during the intermediate state*: I am bound therefore not to pass over in silence Bishop Warburton's summary assertion, that in the New Testament indeed the word signifies *the receptacle of living souls*, but that in the Old Testament it means only *the receptacle of dead bodies*. Div. Leg. book v. sect. 5. note NN. p. 280, 281.

An assertion of this kind is plainly necessary to the system of the learned prelate: yet it might not have been amiss, had the assertion been corroborated by argument. Nothing of the sort however appears. The assertion stands therefore as a naked assertion: it is the mere *αυτος εφα* of the great master. Let us see then what can be said on the other side of the question.

To avoid prolixity, I shall only adduce two passages, in which *Sheol* or *Hades* is mentioned by the inspired writers.

I. The first of these shall be from the book of Job.

The holy man speaks of God's hiding him in *Sheol* or *Hades*, of his keeping him in a secret place, of his appointing him a set time and remembering him, of his own waiting patiently in *Hades* till his renovation should come, and of his answer-

2. Let us next see, whether he has been more successful in that second part of his POSITIVE

ing God, (evidently from the prison of *Hades*) when at length God should call upon him. Job xiv. 13—15.

Now what did Job mean by *Hades*, as thus described by him? Did he consider it *a mere receptacle of dead bodies*, or did he esteem it *a receptacle of living departed souls*? So far as I can judge, his account of the place is altogether incongruous with the former of these suppositions.

II. The second of them shall be from the book of Isaiah.

This volume of prophecies contains a magnificent ode, in which *Sheol* is amply described, and in which the doctrine of the Hebrew Church respecting it is distinctly and unreservedly set forth.

The tyrannical king of Babylon, who had long oppressed the nations, is cut off by the hand of death. But what becomes of his soul? Is it lost and annihilated? Nothing of the sort: it descends into the receptacle of living separated spirits; and its reception by them is described in one of the finest strains of sacred oriental poetry.

Sheol from beneath (by the Greek translators accurately rendered *Hades*) *is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth; it hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations. All they shall speak and say unto thee: Art thou also become weak as we? Art thou become like unto us? How art thou fallen from heaven, O lucifer, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations! For thou hast said in thine heart: I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to Sheol, to the sides of the pit. All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, every one in his own house. But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch: thou shalt not be joined with them in burial.* Isaiah xiv. 9—20.

demonstration which claims the New Testament as its basis.

What is it, which in this divine poem descends into *Hades*, and which is received with scornful mockery by the mighty dead? Is it *the body* of the deceased king? *That*, we are told, is *cast out* of its grave, and is *not* joined to the defunct sovereigns of the earth in honourable burial: but *this*, we find, is joined to the sovereigns of the earth; otherwise it could not encounter their insults. Who again are those, that mock the descending essence? Do dead bodies rise from their thrones, and recollect, and converse? Doubtless all these inhabitants of Sheol are not *dead bodies* but *living souls*. Accordingly, nothing can be more scrupulously accurate than the distinction which the prophet makes between *the true receptacle of the soul* and *the true receptacle of the body*. The former he terms *Sheol*, which the Greeks express by *Hades*: and here we find *living souls* addressing their new companion, another *living soul*. But the latter he terms *Keber* or *the grave*: and from this *the carcase* of the Babylonian prince is ignominiously thrown out, while an honourable burial with the kings of the nations is contemptuously refused to it. Compare ver. 9, 10. with ver. 18, 19, 20.

It may be said, that I am building an argument upon the mere imagery of a poem. Undoubtedly I am, and with good reason. Would Homer have described *the souls* of the suitors, as descending into *Hades*, after their *bodies* had fallen by the hand of Ulysses and his companions; if he and his countrymen had universally held *the annihilation of the soul*? How then can we imagine, that Isaiah would have similarly described *the soul* of the Babylonian prince, as descending into *Sheol*, while his *body* was ignominiously cast out of its grave or narrow house (see ver. 18.); if he and his countrymen neither knew nor believed the doctrine of a *future*

Here I do not conceive it necessary to enter upon a formal discussion of the several texts produced by his lordship: partly, because he himself has effectually demolished his own interpretation of them in the mass; and partly, because, if we explain them as he contends they ought to be explained, we must at once expunge from the canon the whole eleventh chapter to the Hebrews.

(1.) The bishop's demolition of his own fabric is comprized in what he evidently deems his strongest argument.

*If life and immortality were brought to light through the Gospel, says his lordship; then, till the preaching of the Gospel, it was kept hid and out of sight. But, if taught by Moses and the prophets, it was NOT brought to light through the Gospel. Therefore THE GENERALITY OF those under the Law had no knowledge of a future state*¹.

Such is the syllogism, which itself is plainly illogical in the conclusion. The bishop says, *Therefore THE GENERALITY OF those under the Law had no knowledge of a future state.* But this is not the legitimate conclusion from his premises, even if we allow the premises themselves to be well founded. The words, THE GENE-

state of existence? The Odyssey sufficiently demonstrates the opinion of the old Greeks: the ode of the Hebrew bard equally demonstrates the opinion of the old Israelites.

¹ Div. Leg. book v. sect. 6. p. 190, 191.

RALITY OF, are inconsecutive: and they have plainly been inserted by way of securing a retreat. It requires not a moment's consideration to perceive, that the legitimate conclusion is, *not THE GENERALITY OF those under the Law, but ALL THOSE who lived both under the Law and before the Law.* The syllogism in short, when accurately stated, will run in the following terms.

If life and immortality were brought to light through the Gospel; then, till the preaching of the Gospel, it was kept hid and out of sight. But, if taught by Moses and the prophets, it was NOT brought to light through the Gospel. Therefore ALL THOSE who lived before the preaching of the Gospel, whether under the Law or before the Law, had no knowledge of a future state: and therefore that doctrine could not have been taught, either by the patriarchs or by Moses or by the prophets.

Here we have the legitimate conclusion from the bishop's own premises: and how does this conclusion agree with his own concessions?

The conclusion is, that *the doctrine of a future state COULD NOT have been taught or known previous to the ministration of Christ:* and exactly analogous to it is the declaration which occurs in one part of his lordship's great work, that *Moses and the prophets COULD NOT by their office teach a future state, since it was ordained and reserved for the ministry of Jesus*¹. But the con-

¹ Div. Leg. book ix. chap. 1. p. 233.

cessions speak a totally different language: for they assure us, that *the doctrine of a future state WAS KNOWN among the Israelites after the time of David, that it was occasionally revealed by God to his chosen servants the fathers and leaders of the Jewish nation, and that the dawning of it was gradually opened by the prophets to the people*¹. If such then be the case, is it not perfectly evident, that the bishop in his syllogism must have argued from erroneously stated premises: for the premises, according to *his* statement of them, bring out a conclusion, which he himself finds to be untenable? However he may sometimes both argue and assert roundly, that *Moses and the prophets COULD NOT teach a future state*: when the matter comes to be sifted and inquired into, we find him obliged to concede, both that *the prophets DID teach a future state*, and that *the fathers and leaders of the Jewish nation DID know the doctrine*.

(2.) Thus lies the bishop's own fabric, as demolished by his own arm: and the inspired writer to the Hebrews completes the demolition.

Since that writer positively and unequivocally declares, even according to Bishop Warburton's own acknowledgment, that *the doctrine of a future state WAS known before the ministration of Christ*; nothing surely can be more nugatory, than to produce a series of texts from the New Testa-

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 1. p. 296. sect. 5. p. 1.

ment, in order to prove that *the doctrine* COULD NOT *have been known before that period*. Yet such, strange as it may appear, is the identical plan pursued by the learned prelate. How then are we to understand the texts which he has produced? I will venture to say, that not one of them, even according to its mere grammatical construction, are we *bound* to understand in the sense imposed by Bishop Warburton. Consequently, when the declaration of the inspired writer to the Hebrews is taken into the account, that *the doctrine of a future state* WAS *known before the ministration of Christ*; we may be absolutely certain, that the texts which the bishop has produced from the New Testament, cannot maintain the directly opposite proposition, that *the doctrine of a future state* WAS NOT *known before Christ made it the sanction of the Gospel*. While therefore, on this ground, I think it wholly superfluous to go through a regular examination of *each* text: I may yet, though I have already had occasion to do it, notice once more the method in which his lordship has treated a *single* text, and *that* the very strongest in the whole collection.

St. Paul writes to Timothy, that *Jesus Christ hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel*. The bishop assumes this text to mean, that *Christ was the FIRST who taught the HITHERTO UNKNOWN doctrine of a future state*: and then,

taking its *assumed* import as the premise of his argument, he frames a syllogism, the *legitimate* conclusion of which is; that *the doctrine neither WAS nor COULD HAVE BEEN taught by any predecessor of our Lord, and consequently that the doctrine neither WAS nor COULD HAVE BEEN known by any person or persons whatsoever anterior to his ministration.* But such a conclusion, though quite legitimately drawn from such a premise, turns out, even by the bishop's own admission, to be a *direct falsehood*: for, so far from the doctrine having been neither taught nor known before the ministration of Christ, it was CONFESSEDLY taught by the prophets and CONFESSEDLY known by the fathers and leaders of the Israelitish nation. What then are we to think of the premise, which conducts us to this conclusion? Doubtless we must judge, that *the premise itself is false.* But to say, that *the premise itself is false,* amounts to the very same thing as to say, that *his lordship has given a palpably erroneous interpretation of the text before us.* Hence of course it will follow, that, when St. Paul described our Saviour as the great prophet *who brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel,* he did not mean to intimate (as the bishop assumes) that *Christ was the FIRST who taught a HITHERTO UNKNOWN doctrine*: but he meant to intimate, unless we make him flatly contradict all which he himself has written in his eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, that *Christ*

brought into the clear light and full blaze of open day a doctrine as yet ONLY PARTIALLY AND IMPERFECTLY REVEALED AND UNDERSTOOD.

The same mode of reasoning will equally dispose of every other text, which the bishop, in the course of his POSITIVE demonstration, has adduced from the New Testament. Not one of them can bear the sense which *he* imposes upon it, without contradicting both the bishop himself and (what is still worse) the inspired writer to the Hebrews¹.

¹ Div. Leg. book v. sect. 6. The texts, cited by Bishop Warburton from the New Testament, while prosecuting his POSITIVE argument are these. 1 Tim. iv. 8. 1 Corinth. xv. 19. Heb. vii. 15, 16. John i. 17. Rom. v. 12—14. 2 Corinth. iii. 7—11. Gal. iii. 23. iv. 3. 2 Tim. i. 10. Coloss. i. 26. Heb. vii. 19. x. 1. viii. 6, 7. ii. 2, 3, 5, 14, 15. Rom. viii. 21. Gal. iii. 21.

CHAPTER IV.

RESPECTING THE SANCTIONS OF THE LAW OF
MOSES.

FROM what has been said, we may safely, I think, venture to conclude, that the knowledge of a future state was possessed by those who flourished both under the Patriarchal and under the Levitical Dispensation. To assert indeed, that they possessed it as clearly and as distinctly in all its grand particulars as we ourselves do, were to contradict the express declaration of St. Paul, that Christ *brought it to light*: but to deny, that they possessed it at all, were equally to contradict the same apostle, when he writes to the Hebrews that all the old fathers *desired a better country that is an heavenly*. In fact, as Bishop Warburton himself most justly remarks, the doctrine of *redemption and reconciliation* and the doctrine of *a future state* are, in the very nature of things, plainly inseparable by all those who believe, as the ancient patriarchs and the Israelites *must* have believed, that *man is an apostate and condemned creature*. If

then it were the grand object of the Patriarchal Dispensation to teach the doctrine of *redemption and reconciliation*, and if it were one of the grand objects of the Levitical Dispensation still to teach and confirm and preserve the same vitally essential doctrine: this very circumstance alone would have proved, by necessary implication, that those, who lived whether before the Law or under the Law, possessed with greater or with less distinctness the doctrine of *a future state*. But we have not been compelled to rest so important a position on mere inference: we have seen, that it may be directly established by the most unobjectionable testimony; testimony in short *so* unobjectionable, that it extorts from Bishop Warburton concessions of such magnitude, as to destroy by *one* part of his great work the identical theory which he seeks to build up by the *other* part of it.

A very curious subject of inquiry however yet remains to be prosecuted: namely, *what notices of a future state are discoverable in the writings of Moses*. These writings are, allowedly, the Pentateuch; and, as we may perhaps hereafter have reason to believe, the book of Job. But, before any such inquiry can be prosecuted satisfactorily, we must learn, *what is the real and openly proposed sanction of the Hebrew Law*, whatever may be the tacit and additional sanction of that part of it which is styled *moral*.

Some of Bishop Warburton's contemporaries,

alarmed at the boldness with which that great man pushed his conclusions, seem to have imagined, that they ought to oppose him, whether right or wrong, in every stage of his argument. Hence the position, that *temporal rewards and punishments were the sole openly proposed sanction of the Hebrew Law*, met with the same fate as the paradoxical and untenable opinion, that *the ancient Israelites were wholly ignorant of a future retributory state*: insomuch that one of his lordship's opponents, in most magnanimous defiance both of direct evidence and of plain common sense, undertook to prove, in a sermon preached before the University of Oxford, that *future rewards and punishments were the sanction of the Mosaic Dispensation*. Yet nothing can be clearer, both from the very reason of the thing and from the most positive testimony of the Law itself, that *its sole openly proposed sanction is temporal rewards and punishments*, whatever may be the *additional tacit sanction of the moral Law*.

I. Let us begin then with discussing *its openly proposed sanction*; which, in fact, both is and must be its *only* sanction, when it is viewed as the common or statute Law of a whole nation.

1. All parties are agreed, though all parties do not equally attend to the matter in their reasonings, that the polity of Israel was of that peculiar and singular form, which is usually denominated *a Theocracy*.

(1.) Now the genius of such a constitution was this.

God was not merely the sovereign lord of Israel, in the same sense as he is said to be the king of the whole earth: but he held exactly the same temporal relation to his chosen people, as any mortal sovereign holds to the nation over which he presides in the quality of a temporal governor. He was *the God* indeed of each *individual* Israelite, just as he is *the God* of each *individual* Christian: but then he additionally sustained, both to every *individual* Israelite and to the whole *collective body* of the Israelitish nation, the extraordinary character of a *literally temporal king* or of a *supreme civil magistrate*.

It was this peculiar relationship between Jehovah and his people Israel, which constituted the strict moral legality of certain actions that otherwise must have been utterly unlawful.

Thus God, who is the lord and master of the universe no less than he was the temporal chief of the house of Israel, might and did command his subjects to exterminate the abandoned Canaanites, just as he might have employed on the same service an earthquake or a deluge or a pestilence: but no other temporal prince can lawfully give such orders; because no other temporal prince stands in the double capacity of a *king to his own nation* and of a *divine irresponsible proprietor to all the rest of the world*. And thus, what bears more immediately upon the

present matter, the subordinate magistrates of Israel might and did lawfully condemn idolaters to suffer death; because, by the common law of the land, as ordained by God the chief temporal magistrate and as freely accepted by the people themselves, idolatry, or an open rebellion against God, attended with a direct renunciation of allegiance, was justly deemed high-treason, and was therefore on the universal principle of legislation a capital offence: but, in every other nation whatsoever, if a prince or a priest or a magistrate inflicts or causes to be inflicted the penalty of death upon any person merely because he is a heretic or an idolater, that prince or priest or magistrate is most assuredly a murderer to all intents and purposes; because, whatever may be the *spiritual* malignity of heresy or idolatry, it is a crime solely cognizable by *God*, and can never be lawfully punished by the civil sword, save under a theocratic form of government.

(2.) Such however was the form of the Israelitish polity: it was a pure and absolute monarchy, of which Jehovah was the temporal head; it was a Theocracy in the strictest and most literal sense of the word. Let us now therefore observe, what follows of necessity from this universally acknowledged circumstance.

If God sustained the character of the *temporal* prince and the *temporal* legislator of the Israelites, the sanction of the common law of the land must clearly be the same as the sanction of the

common law of any other land : for, if the sanction of the common Hebrew law differed from the sanction of every other common law in the radical point, that *future* punishments were the sanction of the former, while *present* punishments are universally the sanction of the latter ; then it is plainly impossible, that God could ever have acted as the *temporal* prince and the *temporal* legislator of the Israelites. Under such a view of the subject, he would indeed have been their *spiritual* king, just as he is the *spiritual* king of us Christians, punishing their breaches of the law no doubt with the strictest justice, but punishing them exclusively *hereafter* : yet it is as clear as the day, that, had he *thus* administered the common law of Israel, he never could have stood to the people in the relation of a *temporal* sovereign. But he certainly *was* the *temporal* sovereign of Israel ; otherwise, the very notion of a Theocracy is a mere idle dream : for, unless God was the *temporal* sovereign of Israel, the polity of that people was no more a Theocracy than the polity of France or of Spain or of England. If then God was the *temporal* sovereign of Israel ; the sanction of the Hebrew common law, like the sanction of the common law in every other country, must of necessity have been *temporal also*. The two ideas stand or fall together : for it is a palpable contradiction to say, that God was the *temporal* sovereign of Israel ; and yet that, acting as a *temporal* sovereign, he administered

the laws of the land, not by the sanction of *temporal* punishments in *this* world, but by the sanction of *future* punishments in *another* world. We may be sure therefore, from the very reason of the thing, that the sanction of the common law of Israel, so far as punishments were concerned, could not but be of a *temporal* nature.

A similar train of reasoning will bring us to a similar result with respect to that part of the sanction, which rests upon the holding forth of rewards to the obedient.

Every *temporal* government, administered by *men*, is radically and inevitably defective. To say nothing of the impossibility of always detecting and punishing offenders, no *human* government is able to found itself upon the sanction of rewarding the obedient. We are wont indeed familiarly to say, that rewards and punishments are the sanction of every law: but, in thus speaking, we do not speak the truth. *Punishments* indeed are the sanction of every human law: but *rewards* never were, and never can be. It is true, that eminent services to the state, whether of a civil or of a military nature, often receive their due and just reward: but this case does not exactly meet the assertion before us. If rewards and punishments be the sanction of every human law; then, while the disobedient are punished for their disobedience, the obedient will conversely be rewarded for their obedience. But did we ever find such to be the procedure of any

government upon the face of the earth ? A murderer and a thief are *punished* for their breach of the law : but did we ever hear of men being *rewarded*, because, on the principle of obedience to the law, they abstained from murder and rapine ? *Punishment*, no doubt, is the *exclusive* sanction of every human law : and, since, in the very nature of things, no human law can propose *rewards* as a sanction ; it follows, that all human laws are, in point of their sanctions, radically and inherently defective. But, when God deigns to act as a temporal magistrate, his government, like himself, must needs be perfect. Hence his temporal administration of the laws must be conducted on the double sanction of *rewards* and *punishments* : for his government would not be perfect *without* this double sanction. Now it is plain, that God alone can confer the rewards of obedience in *this* world : and it is no less plain, that if he act as a *temporal* magistrate to any nation, the proposed *reward of obedience* must be just as much of a *temporal* nature as the proposed *punishment of disobedience*. In other words, the sanction of the common law of a country, whenever God himself administers it as the supreme *temporal* magistrate, must inevitably be, not *future* rewards and *future* punishments in a *future* world, but *present* rewards and *present* punishments in this *present* world. The *latter* half of this sanction a theocratic government possesses in common with all other governments :

the *former* half it possesses exclusively; for the very idea of *present reward for naked obedience to the law* involves the idea of an *extraordinary or miraculously operating Providence*, which of course no mere human government can command.

2. Thus, from the very nature of things, it is abundantly plain, that the openly proposed sanction of the Mosaical Law, which was the common law of Israel administered by a theocratic government, could not but have been *temporal rewards and temporal punishments*; for, had its sanction been *future rewards and future punishments*, then it clearly could not have been administered by a theocratic government: and strictly consonant with this deduction is the express testimony of the Law respecting itself. It were easy to fill many pages with texts of such a description: but it will be quite sufficient to adduce two passages, the latter explanatory of the former.

*Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: a blessing, if ye obey the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you this day; and a curse if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but turn aside out of the way which I command you this day to go after other gods which ye have not known*¹.

Now of what nature are the blessing and the curse, here proposed as the sanction of the Law? Are they *temporal* in this world, or are they *future* in another world? Let us hear them expounded

¹ Deuter. xi. 26—28.

at large by the inspired lawgiver himself in his final recapitulation to the whole people.

It shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and to do all his commandments which I command thee this day ; that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all nations of the earth : and all these blessings shall come on thee and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God. Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Blessed shall be thy basket and thy store. Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The Lord shall cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thy face : they shall come out against thee one way, and flee before thee seven ways. The Lord shall command the blessing upon thee in thy store-houses and in all that thou settest thine hand unto : and he shall bless thee in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee. The Lord shall establish thee an holy people unto himself, as he hath sworn unto thee, if thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God and walk in his ways. And all people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the Lord : and they shall be afraid of thee. And the Lord shall make thee plenteous in goods, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground, in the land

which the Lord sware unto thy fathers to give thee. And the Lord shall open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven to give the rain unto thy land in his season, and to bless all the work of thine hand: and thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow. And the Lord shall make thee the head and not the tail; and thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath: if that thou hearken unto the commandments of the Lord thy God, which I command thee this day, to observe and to do them; and thou shalt not go aside from any of the words which I command thee this day, to the right hand or to the left, to go after other gods to serve them.

But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes which I command thee this day; that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee. Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shall be thy basket, and thy store. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation, and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed, and until thou perish quickly; because of the wickedness of thy doings whereby thou hast forsaken me. The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee, until he have consumed thee from off the land whither thou goest to possess it. The

Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew : and they shall pursue thee until thou perish. And thy heaven, that is over thy head, shall be brass ; and the earth, that is under thee, shall be iron. The Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust : from heaven shall it come down upon thee, until thou be destroyed. The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thine enemies : thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them ; and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth. Thou shalt carry much seed out into the field, and shalt gather but little in : for the locust shall consume it. Thou shalt plant vineyards and dress them, but shalt neither drink of the wine nor gather the grapes : for the worms shall eat them. Thou shalt have olive-trees throughout all thy coasts, but thou shalt not anoint thyself with the oil : for thine olive shall cast his fruit. Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but thou shalt not enjoy them : for they shall go into captivity. All thy trees and fruit of thy land shall the locust consume. The stranger, that is within thee, shall get up above thee very high ; and thou shalt come down very low. He shall lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him : he shall be the head, and thou shalt be the tail. Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed : because thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to

*keep his commandments and his statutes which he commanded thee*¹.

Here we have the sanction of the Hebrew Law drawn out at large, with a special regard to the immediate personal interference of the supreme magistrate himself in the way both of reward and of punishment. In ordinary breaches of the statute, the sword of the inferior magistrate, as in the case of any other form of government, was amply sufficient: nor was it necessary or decorous for the king himself to appear upon every smaller occasion. Murder among the Israelites, when perpetrated by an individual, was punished like murder among ourselves in the common course of administering justice: for here no special or extraordinary interference on the part of the sovereign was necessary. But, if the nation became universally corrupt, if the regular administration of justice was generally neglected or prevented, and if evil spread in such a manner as to baffle or elude or defy the statute law of the land: then, under circumstances against which no provision can be made by any mere human government, the divine king of Israel himself came forward to inflict merited punishment through the operation of an extraordinary providence. Yet still, even in a case thus extreme and thus extensive, what is the proposed

¹ Deuter. xxviii. 1—25, 38—45.

sanction of the Law ? Clearly it is altogether of *a temporal* nature. As the rewards, held forth to the obedient, consist of great worldly prosperity; so the punishments, denounced against the disobedient, are wholly limited to this present life. Nothing can be more clear than the copious passage, which I have just cited ; except indeed the *rationale* or the principle, on which the passage itself is built. In the very nature of things, the sanction of the Hebrew statute Law, like the sanction of any other statute law, must inevitably be *temporal*: and accordingly we are told, in words as express and as explicit as can well be devised, that such is actually the case even under the most extreme conceivable circumstances.

II. But, though in strict propriety of speech the openly proposed sanction of the Hebrew Law is its *only* sanction ; we must not forget, that another sanction of a very different sort was *attendant* upon it, though not truly and absolutely *belonging* to it.

1. The moral law, being founded upon the eternal difference between right and wrong, existed, with its own peculiar sanction, long before the promulgation of the Hebrew statute law from mount Sinai and long before the commencement of the miraculous Theocracy of the Israelites. This law was *adopted* indeed into the Hebrew law, but *itself* was of much higher antiquity. Hence it is plain, that, whatever its *original* sanction was, that sanction would remain *unaltered*, unless

it can be shewn to demonstration that it was ever formally repealed.

But, so far from its being possible to shew any such matter, we have the express testimony of an apostle to the very reverse. *Wherefore then serveth the Law?* IT WAS ADDED *because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made*¹.

The Law, it seems, WAS ADDED. To what then was it thus made AN ADDITION? Most certainly, as Bishop Warburton allows, to its sole legitimate predecessor, the religion of the ancient patriarchs. What then *was* this primeval religion? The learned prelate contends, though with such concessions as to the patriarchs themselves as may well be thought to endanger the whole hypothesis, that the religion, which subsisted between the fall of man and the delivery of the Law from mount Sinai, was *natural religion* as contradistinguished from *revealed religion*; that its leading article was the doctrine of *the divine unity*; and that it neither knew nor taught the doctrine of *a future retributory state*, the want of such a doctrine being supplied, as it was afterward supplied in the case of the Israelites, by the constant exertion of an equal or extraordinary providence. He argues therefore, that, when the Law is said to have been ADDED to the patriarchal religion, nothing more is asserted, than that

¹ Gal. iii. 19.

it was added to the bare primeval doctrine of *the divine unity* : and he remarks, that it is described as having been *added* BECAUSE OF TRANSGRESSIONS, on the ground that there had been an universal apostasy to the abomination of polytheism¹.

With respect to this view of the patriarchal religion, I have already shewn at large both its defectiveness and its radical erroneousness² : for I have shewn, that the special object of that Dispensation was to declare the vital doctrine of *redemption and reconciliation to God* ; which, even independently of direct testimony (as Bishop Warburton is well aware), involves of necessity the doctrine of *a future retributory state*³. The Law consequently, being ADDED to Patriarchism, was of course added to Patriarchism with all its doctrines and all its sanctions. But the doctrines of Patriarchism were not more *the divine unity*, than *redemption and reconciliation to God through a promised Deliverer* : and the sanction of the moral law, as existing under Patriarchism, was most assuredly NOT *temporal rewards and punishments* in this world (as the bishop, without a shadow of evidence, has ventured to maintain), but *future rewards and punishments* in another world. To these doctrines therefore, and to this sanction, the Law WAS ADDED. It *revealed* neither the one,

¹ Div. Leg. book v. sect. 1. p. 5.

² See above, book i. chap. 2.

³ Ibid. chap. 4, 5, 6.

nor the other, of them ; for they had both been revealed *long before* the promulgation of the Law : but to the doctrines were gradually ADDED particulars hitherto unknown ; and to the sanction was ADDED the peculiar and *exclusive* sanction of the Law, when viewed as *the common statute law of the Hebrew nation*, namely TEMPORAL rewards of obedience and TEMPORAL punishments of disobedience.

Doubtless the Law *was added because of transgressions* : but these transgressions did not consist of a mere lapse into polytheism ; they rather consisted of such a lapse into it, as marred and corrupted and perverted the vital doctrine of *redemption through the predicted Seed of the woman*. Accordingly, we find the apostle alluding to this very circumstance. *The Law was added indeed because of transgressions* : but on what ground was it so added ? In part, most assuredly, to preserve the doctrine of *the divine unity* in the midst of surrounding polytheism ; for this was *one* of the objects of the Law : but then, in part also, *till the Seed should come to whom the promise was made*, in part also to preserve the doctrine of *redemption* in the midst of the superstitious dreams of Gentilism ; for this was the *other* grand object of the Law.

Such then was the reason, and such the ground, of a most remarkable and a most important ADDITION being made to the old patriarchal religion. The Law was of no further value than to preserve, with increasing light,

what was already known; until at length *the Seed should come, to whom the promise was made.*

2. This view of the subject perfectly accords, both with the apostle's declaration in the context, and with certain other declarations in the New Testament respecting the sanctions of the Law which might at first seem to contradict the express language of the Law itself.

(1.) The Law WAS ADDED; that is to say, as Bishop Warburton justly observes, WAS ADDED to the old religion of the patriarchs. But what was the old religion of the patriarchs, as described by St. Paul in the context? He tells us, that *Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness; that the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith; PREACHED BEFORE THE GOSPEL UNTO ABRAHAM, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed; and that Christ hath redeemed us, in order that through him the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles*¹. He then goes on to tell us, that the Law WAS ADDED: to the old patriarchal religion, as Bishop Warburton allows; to the old patriarchal religion which preached no other than the anticipated Gospel itself, as we are unequivocally assured by the learned apostle. If then the Law WAS ADDED to Patriarchism, thus preaching the inseparably united doctrines of *redemption through a Mediator* and of *a future state of rewards and punishments*: it plainly must

¹ Galat. iii. 6, 8, 13, 14.

have received from Patriarchism that identical sanction of the moral commandments, which is held forth under the Gospel itself.

Thus, notwithstanding the characteristic and EXCLUSIVE sanction of the Law, when viewed solely as *the national law of Israel administered by a Theocracy*, consisted of TEMPORAL REWARDS and of TEMPORAL PUNISHMENTS: yet the unrepealed sanction of that Patriarchism, to which it WAS ADDED, still continued to be FUTURE REWARDS and FUTURE PUNISHMENTS, so far as the moral duties were concerned.

(2.) Such, if I mistake not, is the true key to that apparent contrariety which we sometimes find, between the declarations of the Law respecting itself, and the declarations of the Gospel respecting the Law.

The Law positively and most unequivocally declares, that its sanction is *temporal* rewards and punishments: yet the Gospel more than once argues in such a manner, that, unless we allow the sanction of the Law to have been *future* rewards and punishments, the argument is quite inconclusive.

Of this description is the reasoning of our blessed Lord himself.

Behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying; Master, what shall I do to inherit ETERNAL LIFE? He said unto him, What is written in THE LAW? How readest thou? And he answering said: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with

*all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself. And he said unto him; Thou hast answered right: THIS DO, AND THOU SHALT LIVE*¹.

Nothing can be clearer than this passage: and nothing can halt more wretchedly than Bishop Warburton's attempt to extricate himself from it². The lawyer asks, how he is to inherit ETERNAL LIFE. For instruction Christ refers him to THE LAW. The man gives a very sensible and pertinent answer. And, in return, Christ says; *This do, and thou shalt LIVE*: that is to say, LIVE ETERNALLY; for otherwise no answer would have been afforded to the man's original question, *What shall I do to inherit ETERNAL LIFE?* Hence it is evident, that a faithful and spiritual observance of the Law will *intitle* a man to a life of eternal happiness: and the reason, why eternal life is never *in fact* thus obtained, must be sought for, not in any failure of God to perform *his* part of the covenant, but in the failure of man to perform *his* part. If man faithfully obeyed the Law, it would intitle him to eternal happiness: but no man ever *does* faithfully obey the Law: therefore no man can obtain eternal happiness through it. The defect however is not in the Law, but in man himself. According to the plain unsophisticated words of

¹ Luke x. 25—28.

² Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 3. p. 399—404.

our Saviour, the Law holds out the promise of ETERNAL LIFE to the obedient: and, as he evidently refers in his answer to that text of Leviticus, *Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and judgments, which if a man DO he SHALL LIVE in them*¹; I see not how we can avoid the conclusion, that, in some sense or other, ETERNAL LIFE was a sanction of THE LAW.

To a similar purpose is the constant reasoning of St. Paul, as Bishop Warburton himself is compelled to acknowledge; though he endeavours to break the force of his acknowledgment by contending, that the apostle does not argue from *really* true premises, but from premises invented or discovered by the later Jews and by them *believed* to be true². Yet, whatever we may think of the bishop's shift which has plainly been invented to save his favourite theory from apprehended destruction, we can no where find a more lucid statement of St. Paul's frequently repeated argument than in his lordship's own words.

The Law, says the apostle, *we know is spiritual*³: for it says, *Do this and LIVE*⁴. Therefore *he, who does the deeds of the Law SHALL LIVE*⁵. But what then? *I am CARNAL*⁶; and ALL HAVE

¹ Levit. xviii. 5.

² Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 4. p. 435—444.

³ Rom. vii. 14.

⁴ Levit. xviii. 5. Gal. iii. 12.

⁵ Rom. x. 5.

⁶ Rom. vii. 14.

SINNED *and come short of the glory of God*¹: so that no flesh can be JUSTIFIED *by the deeds of the Law*², which requires PERFECT OBEDIENCE. Works then being unprofitable, we must have recourse to faith. But *the Law is not of Faith*³. Therefore the Law is unprofitable for the attainment of salvation⁴.

Such no doubt is the argument of St. Paul: but it is manifestly built upon the identical premises employed by our Lord in his conversation with the lawyer.

ETERNAL LIFE is first assumed to be a sanction of the Law: and the text from Leviticus, alluded to in the words, *Do this and LIVE*, is in each case alike interpreted as holding forth the promise of ETERNAL LIFE to perfect obedience. Next it is argued, that perfect obedience never was and never will be rendered by any man. Whence the conclusion is regularly and logically drawn, that no man can obtain ETERNAL LIFE by the Law; not however on the ground that the Law holds forth *no promise* of eternal life, but on the quite different ground that no man can claim the fulfilment of *the actually existing promise* on the score of his own undeviating obedience.

The argument, in short, of our Lord and his

¹ Rom. iii. 23.

² Gal. ii. 16. iii. 11.

³ Gal. iii. 12.

⁴ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 4. p. 438.

apostle is the very same and deduced from the very same premises: the sole difference is, that the apostle brings out the legitimate conclusion in so many express words; while our Lord stops short, and leaves the lawyer himself to draw the conclusion by practically comparing his own life with the acknowledged requisitions of the Law. In each case however, the argument is plainly altogether inconclusive; unless it be allowed, that the Law proposes ETERNAL LIFE as a sanction: for, in each case, the argument is professedly built upon this identical circumstance.

How then shall we account for this extraordinary discrepance between the testimony of the Law respecting itself, and the testimony of the Gospel respecting the Law? For the Law declares, that its sanction is TEMPORAL rewards and punishments; while the Gospel declares, that its sanction is FUTURE OR ETERNAL rewards and punishments.

To solve the difficulty, some have recourse to a spiritualization of the Law: whence they teach us, that TEMPORAL punishments and TEMPORAL blessings *in the letter* shadow out ETERNAL punishments and ETERNAL blessings *in the spirit*; so that, when the Israelites (as in the copious passage which I have cited above) are promised all TEMPORAL blessings on their obedience and are threatened with all TEMPORAL punishments

on their disobedience, we are to view the TEMPORAL as so many types or images of the ETERNAL.

This solution appears to me very unsatisfactory: for, though I readily acknowledge that *the Law is a shadow of good things to come*; still, in argument, it would seem rather an unusual process to refer a man to a long annunciation of TEMPORAL rewards and punishments which confessedly received their full accomplishment *in literal matter of fact*, as any proof that ETERNAL rewards and punishments were a sanction of the Law.

The genuine solution is, I am persuaded, of a totally different description, and is built upon a totally different principle.

The Law, as St. Paul teaches us, WAS ADDED to ancient Patriarchism: and, as the sanction of ancient Patriarchism was not repealed; that sanction, by the union of Patriarchism with the Law, became in some sort the sanction of the Law itself. Yet, in absolute strictness of speech, it was *not* the sanction of the Law: for the Law, properly and exclusively so called, being administered upon earth by a Theocracy, could only, both in the very nature of things and as itself repeatedly testifies, employ for its sanction TEMPORAL rewards and punishments. That ETERNAL LIFE therefore, to which Christ and St. Paul refer as a sanction of the Law, is in truth

the sanction of Patriarchism : and it is no further a sanction of the Law, than as the Law WAS ADDED to a more ancient Dispensation.

This will distinctly appear, if we only advert to the professed basis of the argument employed by our Lord and his apostle.

On what do they represent the promise of ETERNAL LIFE suspended under the Law ? On its ceremonial and civil part, or on its moral and religious part ? Doubtless on the latter.

Thus, when Christ told the lawyer that he had answered right, and when he added, *This do and thou shalt LIVE* ; what was it that the lawyer had previously said ? Did he build his hope of inheriting ETERNAL LIFE on the punctuality of his civil and ceremonial obedience ? Nothing of the sort : his answer had *exclusive* regard to the moral and religious part of the Law. *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind ; and thy neighbour as thyself.*

Thus likewise St. Paul, whenever he reasons forward to the necessity of a justifying faith in Christ, always reasons from the impossibility of sincere and spiritual obedience being paid by fallen man to the moral and religious commandments. *If there had been a Law given which could have given LIFE, verily RIGHTEOUSNESS should have been by the Law. But the Scripture hath concluded all UNDER SIN, that the promise by faith of*

*Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe*¹. *The Law is not of FAITH : but the man, that DOETH them, shall LIVE in them*². *God will render to every man according to his DEEDS : to them, who BY PATIENT CONTINUANCE IN WELL-DOING seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life ; but unto them, that are CONTENTIOUS and DO NOT OBEY THE TRUTH but OBEY UNRIGHTEOUSNESS, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, UPON EVERY SOUL OF MAN THAT DOETH EVIL, of the JEW first, and also of the GENTILE. For as many, as HAVE SINNED without the Law, shall also perish without the Law : and as many, as HAVE SINNED in the Law, shall be judged by the Law. But we have proved both JEWS and GENTILES, that they are all UNDER SIN : as it is written, There is none RIGHTEOUS, no not one : there is none that UNDERSTANDETH, there is none that SEEKETH AFTER GOD ; they are all GONE OUT OF THE WAY, they are altogether become UNPROFITABLE, there is none that DOETH GOOD no not one, there is NO FEAR OF GOD before their eyes : Now we know, that what things soever the Law saith, it saith to them who are under the Law : that EVERY MOUTH MAY BE STOPPED, and ALL THE WORLD MAY BECOME GUILTY BEFORE GOD. Therefore by the deeds of the Law shall no flesh be justified in his sight : for by the Law is THE KNOWLEDGE OF SIN. But now the righteousness of God without the Law*

¹ Galat. iii. 21, 22.² Ibid. 12.

is manifested, being witnessed by the Law and the Prophets, even the righteousness of God which is BY FAITH OF JESUS CHRIST unto all and upon all them that believe: for there is no difference. For ALL HAVE SINNED AND COME SHORT OF THE GLORY OF GOD, being JUSTIFIED FREELY BY HIS GRACE THROUGH THE REDEMPTION THAT IS IN CHRIST JESUS ¹.

It is needless to multiply passages of a similar purport: suffice it to say, that, whenever St. Paul would prove our need of a Redeemer, he invariably argues, not from the breach of the *civil* and *ceremonial* part of the Law, but from the breach of its *moral* and *religious* part. Now whence did it receive this *moral* and *religious* part, which the apostle declares to be binding upon the Gentiles just as much as upon the Jews? Doubtless from ancient Patriarchism: for to this prior Dispensation, the Law, properly so called, WAS ADDED. Hence it is evident, that the sanction of ETERNAL *rewards and punishments* HEREAFTER was not, strictly speaking, the sanction of the Law, but the sanction of Patriarchism: and it is referred to by Christ and St. Paul as a sanction of the Law, solely because the Law WAS ADDED to Patriarchism, and thence adopted both its sanction, and its doctrines. *Having* therefore thus adopted the sanction of Patriarchism, it ADDED to that sanction

¹ Rom. ii. 6—9, 12. iii. 9—12, 18—24.

its own *peculiar* and *exclusive* sanction; namely, TEMPORAL *rewards and punishments* HERE: which it was *necessitated* to do in consequence of its being administered by a Theocracy; for *a Theocracy without TEMPORAL rewards and punishments* is a manifest contradiction in terms.

Accordingly, we find the apostle alluding to this *double* sanction; under which, not the ceremonial, but the moral, Law was enforced. GODLINESS *is profitable unto all things, having promise of THE LIFE THAT NOW IS and of THAT WHICH IS TO COME*¹. Under Patriarchism, godliness had promise only of *a future life*: hence we may observe Jacob and the patriarchs exposed to many severe trials, and *confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth*². Again under Christianity, godliness has promise only of *a future life*; though it is the grand privilege of that Dispensation, that its great prophet should have eminently *brought life and immortality TO LIGHT through the Gospel*: hence the Saviour addresses his disciples; *In the world YE SHALL HAVE TRIBULATION, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world*³. Under Judaism alone, partly in consequence of its having been ADDED to Patriarchism and partly in consequence of its theocratic administration, godliness had promise both of *the life that now is and of that which is to come*. The same extraordinary circumstance,

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 8.

² Gen. xlvii. 9. Heb. xi. 13.

³ John xvi. 33.

if I mistake not, will once more occur during the millennial period, when Christianity itself shall be ADDED to evangelized Judaism. We have reason to believe, that the ancient Theocracy will then be revived; but revived so as to comprehend every servant of Christ, whether Jew or Gentile. But, if the Theocracy be revived, it must inevitably bring in its train that necessary and inseparable concomitant of a Theocracy *as such*, the sanction of TEMPORAL rewards and punishments¹.

I consider these remarks on the sanctions of the Law, as absolutely necessary to enable us to form a right estimate of what we may reasonably expect to find in the Pentateuch relative to a future retributory state: for, without such preliminary remarks, we might be apt to raise our expectations much higher than we can have any just warrant to do. Indeed I am fully persuaded, that a want of attention to this very thing is the main circumstance which has given any degree of plausibility to the system, that the doctrine of *a future state* formed no part of the Levitical Dispensation and was wholly unknown to the great body of the Israelites.

¹ See Dan. vii. 13, 14, 27. Rev. xx. 5—9. Isaiah ii. 2, 3. xi. 10—16. xii. liv. lx. lxvi. 15—24. Ezek. xxxiv. 11—31. xxxvi. xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix. Hos. iii. 4, 5. Joel ii. iii. Micah iv. Zechar. viii. xii. xiii. xiv.

CHAPTER V.

RESPECTING THE NOTICES OF A FUTURE STATE
DISCOVERABLE IN THE PENTATEUCH.

THE Pentateuch being confessed by all believers to have been written under the immediate inspiration of God, and every person (notwithstanding Bishop Warburton's ingenious reasonings to the contrary) feeling an invincible conviction that a heaven-revealed system of theology cannot but throw some light upon the future destination of the soul: we are apt, if the subject be new to us, to conclude as a thing of course, that the doctrine of *an hereafter* must needs make a prominent figure in the five books of Moses, and that the Israelites received it from *their* Law just as we receive it from *our* Gospel. Such, I suspect, is very frequently the case with those, who have never previously sat down to a regular study of this most curious topic. Hence, when challenged to produce from the Pentateuch their proof of a future state, they are not a little disappointed and perplexed to find, what very scanty and obscure and indirect

notices of the doctrine they can discover even when they have painfully searched through the entire code.

This undeniable circumstance is triumphantly brought forward by infidels, with the exaggerated addition that *no* reference to a future state can be detected in the Pentateuch, for the purpose of throwing discredit upon the divine origination of the Hebrew Law: and the same circumstance, with an exaggeration not very dissimilar, has been adduced no less confidently by Bishop Warburton, as a safe and unobjectionable medium through which to prove the divine legation of Moses. Yet it may well be doubted, whether all parties have not proceeded upon the mere gratuitous assumption, that, if the doctrine were indeed taught and believed under the Law, we should find it largely insisted upon and exhibited with studied precision in various parts of the Pentateuch.

But, after all, what *is* the volume, from which so much is expected? By far the greatest portion of it is neither more nor less than the common statute law of the Israelites, as administered by proper officers ecclesiastical and civil under their peculiar form of temporal government the Theocracy: and, with respect to the remainder, it is a very brief history, reaching through many centuries from the creation of the world down to the entrance of the Israelites into Palestine.

Now what can we reasonably expect from a volume of this twofold description? Let us see, how often we can find the doctrine of *a future state* formally and explicitly set forth in the civil and ecclesiastical law of England, in the statutes of the realm and in the canons of the Church. As for the statute law, those, who are learned in it, can best say, how far it would be possible, to prove from its declarations, or to confute from its silence, the position that *the English believe in a future state of rewards and punishments*: but, as for the canons, I can venture to assert, that, out of their whole number which amounts to *one hundred and forty one*, none save *two* contain the slightest allusion to the doctrine of *a future state*; and that those *two*, instead of luculently and copiously setting it forth, barely refer to it with as much brevity as possible. So again: let us peruse the Roman history of Livy or the various writings of Tacitus; and then let us calculate, how often we have found the ancient Latin belief in another world expressly declared or fully detailed. I am inclined to suspect, that in all these cases, we shall be surprized to discover, how very little is said upon the subject either affirmatively or negatively.

From such facts I would draw the obvious inference, that, if we expect to find any formal recognition, or any elaborate description of a future state in the five books of Moses, we are

seeking what, agreeably to the natural rules of good composition, we cannot reasonably hope to discover: for as well might we resort to the statute law of England, as to the statute law of Israel, for a full enunciation of the doctrine in question; and as well might we expect to find it largely set forth in the historical writings of Livy, as in the historical writings of Moses. We must look in short not for the copiousness of systematic detail, but for the brevity of accidental allusion. The matter seems to be this. Throughout the whole Patriarchal Dispensation, the doctrine of *a future retributory state*, as we have already seen from the high authority of an inspired apostle, was duly taught and fully believed by all, except those who might, as in the present day, profess themselves to be infidels. To the Patriarchal Dispensation *was added* the Law: but Moses had no commission to throw any further light upon the doctrine in question; it was reserved for the great prophet of a more perfect Dispensation to *bring life and immortality to light through the Gospel*. As for the Hebrew legislator, he left the doctrine as he found it. The very nature of his work precluded him from any formal and regular statement of a tenet; which had been known from generation to generation by every successive patriarch and his family, which from Adam and Seth must have been transmitted to the whole antediluvian Church, which from Noah must have been si-

milarly transmitted to the whole postdiluvian Church, and which from Abraham and Isaac and Jacob must have been finally transmitted to the whole Levitical Church. He had nothing to add to it: and it were irrelevant to his purpose to enter copiously into detail. Accordingly, as might have been anticipated from the very reason of the thing, the historian and the legislator, like any other historian and legislator, contents himself with incidentally alluding to what had ever been the familiar doctrine of the Church.

On these grounds it were vain to seek in the Pentateuch for any direct proof of the doctrine: and, agreeably to this plain *rationale* of the matter, our Lord's own argument effectually shews the futility of any such expectation.

*As touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying; I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living*¹.

The argument, no doubt, is perfectly conclusive: but still who does not immediately perceive, that the doctrine is proved from the Law, not in the way of adducing any positive declaration, but solely in the way of inferential reasoning? Had the former mode been practicable, we may be sure that Christ would not

¹ Matt. xxii. 31, 32.

have resorted to the latter mode: indeed the Sadducèan heresy would not have had a single foot to stand upon, if any express declaration in so many words could have been found in the Pentateuch. Hence, so far as the Pentateuch is concerned, we may be morally certain, that the doctrine can only be established in the way of inference either from peculiar expressions or from peculiar ceremonies.

I. With respect to peculiar expressions, I have already had occasion to notice some of them; such as the earliest promise made to our first parents after the fall, and the marked phraseological difference between *the divine abreption* of Enoch, and *the ordinary death* of every other patriarch. On these I need therefore only once more remark, that Bishop Warburton himself virtually acknowledges the promise of the woman's seed to involve the promise of recovered immortality¹: and, however he may contrast the brevity of Enoch's history with the copiousness of Elijah's, he does not pretend to deny the inference which may be fairly drawn from that marked phraseological difference which I have just noticed. These expressions then having been thus previously disposed of, I may proceed to notice certain others, which lead to precisely the same conclusion.

1. When the death of the holy patriarchs is

¹ See above book i. chap. 5. § I. 2.

mentioned, the inspired historian frequently uses the phrase: *he died, and was gathered to his people*¹.

Bishop Warburton contends, that the latter clause in the phrase is a mere pleonasm; so that the whole is simply equivalent to an assertion of the death of the patriarch spoken of: yet does he profess himself ready to allow, that the expression, *he was gathered to his people*, originally arose (whatever nation first employed it) from the notion of *some common receptacle of souls*.

This acknowledgment is a little unfortunate, under whatever aspect it may be viewed.

The expression itself must clearly be of the most remote antiquity; otherwise Moses could not have used it during the very infancy of the Hebrew republic. Whence then did he receive it? Notwithstanding the bishop's cautious parenthesis, *whatever people first employed it*, which was evidently designed to guard his acknowledgement from being turned against himself; we may be tolerably sure, that Moses had it from his patriarchal ancestors, and that he used an expression perfectly familiar to his countrymen, who had derived it from the same source as himself.

But in what sense would the patriarchs use it, who all confessedly knew and believed the

¹ Gen. xxv. 8, 17. xxxv. 29. xlix. 29, 33. Numb. xx. 24, 26, 28. xxvii. 13.

doctrine of *a future state*? The bishop allows, that it originated from the notion of *some common receptacle of souls*: and we are certain that the patriarchs *held* this identical notion. Hence we may be tolerably sure, both that the patriarchs from generation to generation used the phrase in that sense, and that Moses and the people to whom he wrote alike continued to understand it in that sense. *The common receptacle of souls*, to which the expression *once at least* confessedly alluded, is generally thought to be described by the Hebrew word *Sheol*, which the Greeks explain by the term *Hades*: but this, for obvious reasons, the bishop is pledged to deny. Hence, without a shadow of argument, he roundly and peremptorily declares, that in the Old Testament *Sheol* or *Hades* denotes, not *the common receptacle of living souls*, but *the common receptacle of dead bodies*. On this principle he would of course deny, that the *being gathered to a man's people*, in the *original* acceptation of the phrase (which it had quite lost, we are assured, even so early as the time of Moses), is equivalent to *a man's descending into Sheol or Hades*: though he would readily allow, that the two phrases were *latterly* (that is to say, since the time of Moses) quite equivalent, each denoting nothing more than *a man's death*. Now, if this be the case, we may be sure, that the *one* phrase must have lost its original meaning as well as the *other* phrase: for the *being gathered to a man's people*,

and *a man's descending into Sheol*, are plainly equipollent in the Hebrew scriptures: hence, if the *former* expression (as the bishop allows) originated from the notion of *some common receptacle of souls*, the *latter* expression must once have described the entrance of any individual soul into that common receptacle. The meaning in short of the *one* expression, and the meaning of the *other* expression, stand or fall together: they either both import *the death of the body*, or they both import *the entrance of the separated soul into the invisible state*. But we have already had a most pregnant demonstration from the book of Job, that *Sheol* denotes *the common receptacle of living souls*¹. Whence it will follow, not only that the phrase, *he was gathered to his people*, involves a direct assertion of a future state; but likewise, that whenever the word *Sheol* is employed, the same doctrine is unequivocally set forth: for, if *Sheol* mean (as it assuredly *does* mean) *the common receptacle of souls after the death of the body*; then, whenever a man is said *to descend into Sheol*, his soul is in effect said *to exist in a separate state after death*.

Accordingly, we have proof positive of both these positions from the peculiar mode in which each expression is applied to Jacob.

I am to be gathered to my people, says the aged

¹ See above book ii, chap. 3. sect. 2. § I. 1. (2.)

patriarch upon his death-bed¹: *I will go down to Sheol to my son mourning*, says the same patriarch when afflicted by the supposed intelligence of the death of Joseph². Doubtless the phrases are equipollent, as Bishop Warburton will readily allow: the only question therefore is, whether they mean *the death and burial of the body* or *the descent of the separated soul into the common receptacle*. That they cannot mean the first, is clear from the manner in which Jacob speaks, when he was informed of the death of Joseph. *I will go down to Sheol to my son mourning*. In this passage, *Sheol* cannot mean *the grave*, which is the common receptacle of dead bodies; because, in the apprehension of Jacob, his son had not been buried, but had been devoured by wild beasts. Yet Jacob, who had not the slightest expectation that *his* fate would ever resemble the supposed fate of Joseph, professes his belief, that he himself should go down to *Sheol* where his son then actually was. Hence, if *Sheol* cannot here denote *the common receptacle of dead bodies*, it must denote *the common receptacle of separate living souls*: and, consequently, since the two expressions, *I am to be gathered to my people* and *I will go down to Sheol*, are equipollent; Jacob must in each be understood, as professing his full assurance of a future state of existence³.

¹ Gen. xlix. 29.

² Gen. xxxvii. 35.

³ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 3. p. 385, 386. Bishop Warburton

2. In the course of the same prophetic admonition, which Jacob closes with announcing his expectation that he should soon be *gathered to his people*, he uses the following remarkable expression; *I have waited for thy salvation, O Jehovah* ¹.

To any application of this passage, which may interfere with his favourite system, Bishop Warburton has at hand a ready objection. He grants, that it may respect the salvation of mankind by Jesus Christ in a *spiritual* sense; nay, for aught he knows, it may in a *literal*. But how should an early Jewish reader understand it in this sense, when the same terms of *the salvation of God* or of *the Lord* are perpetually employed throughout the whole Bible, to signify God's temporal mercies to the patriarchs and their posterity²?

compendiously dismisses the two expressions, used by Jacob, in the following manner. *To be reduced to one common lot or condition is called being gathered to their people. In this sense Jacob might properly say, that he would go down to the grave to a dead son who was never buried; that is, that he should find no ease to his sorrows till he was reduced to the same condition.* Perhaps he might, if we had not unfortunately upon record Job's profession of belief; that he would remain hidden in *Sheol*, until God should remember him after a set time, until the day of his renovation should come, until the Lord should have a desire to the work of his hands, until God should call to Job in *Sheol* and Job should forthwith answer him out of this same *Sheol*. Job xiv. 13—15.

¹ Gen. xlix. 18.

² Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 3. p. 398.

In this objection, the learned prelate first *assumes* (what he always takes for granted), that the early Jews were *ignorant* of a future state, and therefore *could not* suppose Jacob to allude to it: and next he maintains, that these ignorant Jews were such extraordinary reasoners; that, when the DYING patriarch professed himself to be waiting for the salvation of Jehovah, he could only be thought to refer to his full expectation of receiving God's TEMPORAL mercies.

I should conceive, that any person, who had not bound himself to maintain a system at all hazards, let him be Jew or let him be Gentile, let him be ancient or let him be modern, could not but immediately see; that, when a DYING man professes to wait for the salvation of Jehovah, he must needs profess to wait for SPIRITUAL salvation in a FUTURE state. A man IN GOOD HEALTH might doubtless have used the expression with reference only to God's TEMPORAL mercies: but, how a DYING man could be waiting for TEMPORAL mercies, or how any early Jewish reader could have fancied such to be the case with the DYING Jacob, I am utterly at a loss to comprehend.

Common sense then itself may shew, that we have here a distinct and undeniable reference to a FUTURE state of happiness: but the passage, unless I greatly mistake its import, sets forth much more than a naked expectation of such a state on the part of Jacob. *I have waited for thy*

salvation, O Jehovah. Who is the Jehovah, here addressed by the holy patriarch? He himself tells us in a passage, to which every early Jewish reader had free access. The God of his fathers Abraham and Isaac and doubtless of himself also was that mysterious being; who is denominated *the Angel of Jehovah*, who was wont to appear in a human shape under the Patriarchal and Levitical Dispensations, who had wrestled as a man with Jacob, and who (we have reason to believe) was expected as the promised Saviour and Deliverer of mankind¹. To him the venerable saint addresses his dying prayer and profession of faith: *I have waited for thy salvation, O Jehovah.* Now what can this salvation be, but salvation through that Jehovah, whose day his grandfather Abraham had beheld afar off, and was glad? Jacob then not only professes his belief in a future state of glory after a manner, which no Jew of plain common sense could well misunderstand: but he likewise professes to build his hope of that state upon the salvation to be hereafter wrought out by the incarnate Word or Angel of Jehovah².

II. I do not think it necessary to enter more

¹ Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. xxxii. 24, 30. Hoshea xii. 2—5.

² Such accordingly is the interpretation of the passage, not merely by a Christian writer whom Bishop Warburton might esteem a prejudiced expositor, but also by the Targum of Jerusalem and the Paraphrase of Jonathan. See Horæ Mosaic. book ii. sect. i. chap. 3. § II. 1. (2.)

at large into those inferences, which, after the manner taught us by our Lord, may be drawn from various expressions in the Pentateuch: my object has rather been to give *a specimen* of those allusions to a well known doctrine, which are all that we can reasonably expect to find in a volume of statute law subjoined to a very brief history of the transactions of many centuries. In a similar manner, I profess only to give *a specimen* of the parallel inferences which may be drawn from certain peculiar ceremonies.

1. We find St. Paul declaring, that *the promise, which was made unto the fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again*¹.

Here we are expressly taught, that a promise of Christ's resurrection was made to the fathers or to the patriarchs: we must seek then for this promise in a period anterior to the Law. Now where shall we find it, except in the mystic drama of the sacrifice of Isaac; a transaction so admirably illustrated by Bishop Warburton himself? As the Apostle informs us, *Abraham accounted that God was able to raise him up even from the dead: whence also he received him in a figure or parable or scenical representation*². But, in propriety of speech, *no* promise of Christ's resurrection could here have been made to Abraham; if all the while he was *quite ignorant* of the

¹ Acts xiii. 32, 33.

² Heb. xi. 19.

nature and meaning of that transaction, in which he had been engaged : Abraham therefore, as the bishop rightly judges, must have *understood* the matter. St. Paul however does not say, that the promise was made to *a single* father, but that it was made *plurally* to the fathers. Hence we must conclude, that the subsequent patriarchs were duly instructed by Abraham in this great mystery : otherwise, the promise would only have been made to a *single* patriarch. But, if the subsequent patriarchs were duly instructed from generation to generation, I see not how we are to avoid the conclusion, that the doctrine, with whatever degree of clearness, became the standard doctrine of the Levitical Church. Such a doctrine being revealed thus early, and afterward being more largely set forth by the Psalmist and by Isaiah, the obvious inference from it would be, that there was another life after the present : for, if the great Deliverer himself was to rise from the dead, how would he accomplish the first promise that he should completely triumph over the serpent, unless he likewise conferred immortality upon the faithful ?

2. From the age of Patriarchism let us pass to the age of the Law : and here again we shall still find ourselves brought to the same inference.

The consecrated tent or tabernacle of the Hebrews contained two apartments, which were separated by a veil reaching from the top to the

bottom: and the like arrangement was afterward observed in the building of the temple. Of these apartments, the first or outermost was called *the holy place*; and it was appointed for the daily services of prayer and sacrifice: but the second or innermost, to which there was no access save through the first, was called *the most holy place* or *the holy of holies*; and into this the high-priest alone entered once in every year. It was in this special sanctuary or adytum that the presence of God was manifested; and his glory is sometimes said to have filled the entire tabernacle: but this luminous manifestation generally appeared above or between the Cherubim, which were placed upon the mercy-seat that covered the ark, and which seemed as it were to prohibit all access into the further part of the sacred chamber.

(1.) Now, according to St. Paul, both the whole tabernacle itself, and the annual entrance of the high-priest into the most holy place, were figures or symbols or hieroglyphics, which exhibited to the bodily senses certain important theological realities.

The tabernacle represented the world: whence the learned apostle terms it *a cosmical* or *mundane sanctuary*¹. But the world is divided into two parts, the present world and the future world: and these two parts are separated from each other by a veil, which effectually conceals the

¹ Ἁγίον κοσμικόν. Heb. ix. 1.

future world from the present. Agreeably to this grand division of the universe, the tabernacle was similarly divided into two parts: and, since the entire tabernacle was an hieroglyphic of the entire world, its two chambers, separated from each other by a symbolical veil, must have shadowed out the two constituent parts of that world.

Accordingly, St. Paul assures us, that such was actually the case: for he tells us, that the holy of holies represented heaven or that part of the world general which to us is *future*; whence it must follow, that the outer chamber or the holy place, through which alone there was a passage into the inner chamber or the most holy place, must have represented the material world or that part of the world general which to us is *present*.

Such was the tabernacle: and analogous to its hieroglyphical character was the rite annually performed by the high-priest alone. While the inferior priests performed daily services in the outer chamber; their pontifical superior once every year went alone into the inner chamber, *not without blood which he offered for himself and for the errors of the people*. The symbolical import then of the two chambers having been ascertained, it is easy to see, that the daily ministration of the priesthood in the outer chamber, shadowed out the daily worship of God's people

in the present or material world. But what, on such principles, are we to understand by the annual solitary entrance of the high-priest into the inner chamber? This act must clearly exhibit the entrance of some one, represented by the high-priest, into the future or invisible world : for, if the future or invisible world were symbolized by the inner chamber, an entrance into that chamber can only denote an entrance into that world.

In strict agreement with so inevitable a conclusion, the apostle assures us, that the entrance of the high-priest into the holy of holies shadowed out the entrance of Christ into the invisible world of heaven, Christ being typified by the high-priest as heaven or the future world was typified by the inner chamber.

But for what purpose did the high-priest enter into the most holy place? He entered thither, we are told, to make expiation by blood both for his own sins and for the sins of the people; he himself as a fallen creature, notwithstanding he sustained a figurative or hieroglyphical character, needing atonement as well as others. The rite then was immediately connected with the rite of piacular sacrifice; the mystical import of which, as we have already seen, there is reason to believe was known from its very first institution. Hence it will follow, that the entrance of the high-priest into the hieroglyphical heaven, on behalf both of himself and of the

people was made to depend upon the virtue of shadowy piacular sacrifice: and, correspondently with it, we read, that *Christ being come an high-priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and of calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us*¹.

The action therefore of the high-priest taught the ancient Israelites, through the medium of certain hieroglyphics, not only that there *is* a future world, but that the free entrance into that world is purchased for them by the sacrifice and mediation of that true high-priest the promised Seed of the woman.

(2.) To this inference from the ceremonial law it will obviously be replied, that, however clear the matter may be to us Christians, the real question is, whether it was equally clear to the ancient Israelites. The action indeed of the high-priest might teach to the latter, through the medium of certain hieroglyphics, the doctrine of *a future state*: but it is abundantly manifest, that, unless the language of the hieroglyphics *themselves* was understood, any teaching of the people through *their* medium would leave them just as wise as it found them; for, in the very nature of things, it could not possibly convey any

¹ Heb. ix. 11, 12.

more distinct ideas to the minds of *the Israelites*, than the now unintelligible hieroglyphics of Egypt convey to the minds of *us Englishmen*. Unless therefore it can be shewn, that the ancient Hebrews *understood* the medium through which instruction was conveyed to them ; it is perfectly clear, that they could draw no inference of a *future state* from the symbolical import of the tabernacle and from the ceremonial action of the high-priest.

Such a remark is perfectly well-founded : and nothing could have been more nugatory and inconclusive than my adduction of the present matter, unless it could also have been shewn, that the Israelites sufficiently understood the import of their own hieroglyphics to enable them to draw the identical inference which has been authoritatively drawn by an inspired apostle. My business therefore now is to shew, that this was actually the case.

Much has been brought forward in another place, which bears immediately upon the present very curious question¹ : I shall avail myself of what has been there said, adding however some other particulars which may be thought necessary to complete the argument.

The Rabbins, in strict conformity with the writers of the New Testament, lay it down as an essential principle of interpretation ; that *all*

¹ See Horæ Mosaicæ, book ii. sect. 1. chap. 3.

*things, which are mentioned in the Law and the Prophets and the Hagiographa, relate to the Wisdom or the Word or the Messiah—Angel of Jehovah*¹. Such is the doctrine of R. Samuel. *In the study of the Law, a double method is to be observed: the one, that its literal meaning may be acquired; the other, that its hidden signification may be understood*². Such again is the doctrine of R. Bechai. *The statutes of Moses are a figure of spiritual things: and those spiritual things are above*³. On the same principle of the Law being a speaking hieroglyphic from end to end, Philo and Maïmonides explain the various ceremonial washings and purifications to symbolize cleanness of heart and holiness of life⁴: while Menasseh Ben-Israel, with what propriety I stop not to inquire, remarks, that no open mention of a future state is made in the book of Genesis, because that recondite doctrine was left to be inferred by the wise from numerous passages of the Law itself⁵.

In consequence of their pursuing this principle, we find their sentiments respecting the tabernacle and the high-priest pretty much the

¹ Præf. in Maimon. de vacc. ruf. Compare Luke xxiv. 27. Acts iii. 18. x. 43. xxvi. 22, 23. Heb. x. 1. ² Peter i. 19. Rev. xix. 10.

² Præf. in Maimon. de vacc. ruf.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Phil. de vit. Mos. lib. iii. p. 521, 523. Maimon. Mor. Nevoch. par. iii. c. 33.

⁵ Men. Ben-Isr. de resurr. mort. lib. i. c. 13.

same as those advanced by St. Paul when writing to the Hebrews ; so that the strain of interpretation, which he has adopted throughout his epistle, would not appear to his countrymen either forced or novel or unnatural.

The figures of the tabernacle, says the gloss upon the Talmud, *relate to spiritual figures, that we may learn from thence more sublime truths*¹. This idea is largely expanded by Josephus : and we shall find it to be no other than that, which has been authoritatively set forth by an inspired apostle. According to the Jewish historian, who does not speak as if he was broaching any strange and unheard of speculation, the whole tabernacle was an hieroglyphic of the universe : for the outer chamber, which was twice as large as the inner one, and which was left common to the priesthood as an apartment that might be lawfully trodden by human feet, symbolized the two grand *material* divisions of the world, the sea and the land ; while the inner chamber symbolized heaven, and was set apart to God alone because heaven is inaccessible to men. The outer chamber thus representing the material world, its entire furniture (proceeds Josephus) is arranged with the strictest regard to congruity. On the sacred table were set out twelve loaves of bread : these typify the twelve months of the year. The candlestick with seven lights exhibits to us the

¹ Præf. in Maimon. de vacc. ruf.

courses of the seven planets : the veil, woven of four colours, typifies the four elements of nature ; earth, air, water, and fire : and the tunic of the officiating high-priest has still the same reference ; for its various parts represent the earth, the sea, the sun, the moon, the twelve months, and that heaven of heavens in which God peculiarly delights¹. A similar notion occurs in the works of Philo : and he adds to it an apparent refinement, which yet is perfectly familiar to the inspired evangelical writers. *There are, as it appears to me*, says he, *two temples of God : the one indeed is the world ; but the other is the rational soul*². As the Jews themselves thus agreed with St. Paul in their sentiments respecting the hieroglyphical tabernacle, so did they accord with him likewise in their estimate of the pontifical character. When the tabernacle was erected in the wilderness, they inform us, another tabernacle was also erected, even that of the child Metatron whose name is the same with the name of God.

¹ Joseph. Ant. Jud. lib. iii. c. 7. § 7.

² Phil. de somn. p. 463. Compare 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. vi. 19. 2 Cor. vi. 16. It is not unworthy of notice, that the ancient pagans had exactly the same idea respecting the symbolical import of their sanctuaries. As every temple was pronounced to be the world in miniature, so the whole world was esteemed one grand temple of the deity. Cicer. de leg. lib. ii. p. 335. Macrobian. in somn. Scip. lib. i. c. 14. p. 51. Plat. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. p. 584. Herac. in epist. ad Hermod. p. 51. See Origin of Pagan Idol. book v. chap. 7. § II. 4.

In the Levitical tabernacle, the high-priest made expiation : but, in this other tabernacle, the child Metatron offers the souls of the just, that he may make expiation for Israel during the time of his captivity¹. Here it is plain, that Metatron officiating in the second tabernacle corresponds with the high-priest officiating in the first tabernacle : whence we may safely conclude, that the high-priest was deemed a symbol or image or type of Metatron. But by Metatron the Rabbins understood the great Angel of the covenant or the Word of God or the promised Messiah². Therefore the Messiah must have been supposed by them to be the antitype of the high-priest. Accordingly, Philo declares roundly, that, as the temple or the tabernacle was the world, so the officiating high-priest was the first-begotten Divine Word³.

(3.) To every argument of this description Bishop Warburton has a ready answer.

The Jews, as our Lord teaches us, might *think* they had eternal life in their own Scriptures⁴; their ancestors, in the time of Antiochus-Epiphanes, might have entertained exactly the same opinion, resting their hope of everlasting blessedness on the alleged special covenant of God⁵; and the Hebrew Church, even *before* the minis-

¹ Talmud. Chagigah. c. 2. Vitring. Obs. Sacr. lib. i. c. 9.

² See Horæ Mosaic. book ii. sect. 1. chap. 3. § II. 3.

³ Phil. de somn. p. 463. de profug. p. 562, 563.

⁴ John v. 39.

⁵ 2 Macc. vii. 36.

try of Christ, might have proved the existence of this covenant by the self-same mode of interpretation which St. Paul assures us is the true mode : yet to all this the learned prelate thinks it quite sufficient to give the following reply.

*The Jews engrafted on their predecessors, just as the Pagans had done on theirs ; and with the same secular policy. For, being possessed with a national prejudice that their religion was to endure for ever, and yet seeing in it the marks of a carnal temporary and preparatory Dispensation, THEY CUNNINGLY ALLEGORIZED ITS RIGHTS AND PRECEPTS INTO A SPIRITUAL MEANING, which covered every thing that was a real deficiency in a religion which they considered as perfect and perpetual. Both these sorts of allegorists therefore had reason in their rage*¹.

The bishop most truly observes, that these later Jews were a race of marvellously cunning allegorists : for, while they were contriving only how they might best save the credit of their Law, they excogitated, with rare felicity, both the identical principle of interpretation, and the identical mode of applying that principle to the high-priest and to the tabernacle, which St. Paul himself has advanced and exemplified. In short, either by most extraordinary cunning or by most extraordinary good luck, these merely prejudiced and secular allegorists, whose best encomium is that they *had reason in their rage*, have

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 6. p. 101.

completely anticipated an inspired apostle ; who was employed, if we may credit the bishop, in revealing the peculiar and hitherto unknown mysteries of the Gospel. Yet, before we finally determine, it may be prudent to inquire, whether these fanciful dealers in allegory were broaching their own unauthorized speculations, however luckily those speculations happen to coincide with the truth ; or whether they were teaching the ancient doctrine of their Church, which had been handed down from generation to generation through a long line of priests and prophets.

When the tabernacle with all its furniture was presented to the attention of the devout Israelite, what would be the first idea which would almost involuntarily spring up in his mind ? Immediately within the holy of holies were stationed the mysterious cherubim : and between them was a visible manifestation of God's glory under the form of a luminous and fiery cloud. But he would know, both from ancient patriarchal tradition and from the express testimony of the Mosaical narrative itself, that precisely in the same manner was God's glory revealed between the Cherubim at the eastern gate of Eden. Hence he would naturally conclude, that these two manifestations of the Shechinah, under two successive though allied Dispensations, stood closely connected with each other in object and in meaning. But he is taught by his inspired legislator, that the object of the divine apparition

under Patriarchism was *to keep the way of the tree of life* and to bar up all access into the consecrated garden of immortality. Does this object then at all resemble the seeming object of the divine apparition under the Law? The similitude, I should think, must immediately have struck any curious inquirer. Every person, save the high-priest alone, was excluded by the glory from the holy of holies: none, except the high-priest by virtue of some mysterious peculiarity attached to his character, was allowed to enter into the consecrated adytum. Now what must have been the natural inference from this close mutual resemblance? Clearly, I should imagine, that the holy of holies corresponded with Paradise or the blissful garden of immortality. But, if such an inference were drawn, the ultimate conclusion would be, that the high-priest represented some one, who alone by virtue of expiatory sacrifice could enter into Paradise and pluck for the benefit of the people the fruit of immortality. Now, that Paradise was deemed a type of heaven from the earliest ages, there cannot, I think, be a reasonable doubt. It was clearly the prototype of the pagan celestial abode of the gods, whether distinguished by the name of *Meru* or *Ilapu* or *Olympus* or *Ida*¹; which could never have happened, had it not been *previously* esteemed an image of heaven: and we may

¹ See Origin of Pagan Idol. book ii. chap. 2.

very distinctly trace the same idea among the Israelites, in the writings both of Isaiah and of Ezekiel. The heaven, from which the Babylonian prince is cast down, we find to be no other than *the mount of the congregation in the regions of the north*; by which is meant the holy mount of Paradise in the northern region of Armenia at the heads of the Euphrates and the Tigris, locally copied in the metropolis of Chaldæa by the vast montiform temple or pyramid of Belus¹: and, in the lamentation of Ezekiel upon the king of Tyre, the garden of Eden or the holy mountain of God is so introduced in connection with the stones upon the high-priest's breastplate, the luminous oracle of the Urim and Thummim, and the anointed Cherub who with his wings covered the mercy-seat; that it is impossible not to perceive, that, what the barred-up garden of Paradise was to antediluvian Patriarchism, the barred up holy of holies was to the Levitical Dispensation². Hence I suppose, that the ancient Israelites both might and did infer, that the

¹ Isaiah xiv. 12, 13. I take it, that the true poetical notion of Isaiah, when he describes the fall of the king of Babylon, is precisely the same as that of Homer, when he describes the analogical fall of Vulcan. Each is cast from heaven: but the real image is, that each is hurled headlong from the summit of the tower of Belus, which was a transcript of God's Paradisiacal mount and thence of heaven itself.

Ῥιψε, ποδος τεταγων, απο ΒΗΛΟΥ ΘΕΣΠΕΣΙΟΙΟ.

Homer. Iliad. lib. i. ver. 591.

² Ezek. xxviii. 12--17.

inner chamber of the sanctuary was an image of heaven, that the high-priest represented the Word of Jehovah or the promised Seed of the woman who by virtue of piacular sacrifice should once more open a passage to the tree of immortality, and consequently that the entrance of the high-priest into the inner chamber shadowed out the entrance of the Word into heaven there to make reconciliation with God for all his faithful people. We know, that these sentiments prevailed among the later Jews ; and we know, that they are strictly consonant to the truth. Whence then did the sentiments themselves originate ; for let it not be forgotten, that they originated quite independently of St. Paul's exposition ? It is easy indeed to say with Bishop Warburton, that they were a figment of comparatively modern allegorists ; but it is not quite so easy to prove such an assertion : and, as we proceed in the inquiry, we shall find less and less reason to believe it well founded. Even at present we may remark, that, if the later Jews could arrive at such conclusions in the way of inference, the earlier Israelites might certainly have been brought to the same end by the same means.

We have seen that the correspondence between the Shechinah as manifested under Patriarchism at the eastern gate of Eden and the same Shechinah as manifested under the Law at the entrance of the most holy place would naturally cause an Israelite to infer, that the most holy

place was an image of heaven: we shall next learn, both that such an inference was actually made, and that the doctrine itself was actually taught, prior to the age of Bishop Warburton's supposed half-mad allegorists¹.

In the book of Psalms, God is represented, not merely while dwelling in his holy temple upon earth, but while abiding in heaven itself, as enthroned between the Cherubim or as using them after the manner of a vehicle². Now, when we consider the visible presence of Jehovah in the most holy place between these same Cherubim, we seem absolutely bound to conclude, that the most holy place was a studied transcript of heaven: for otherwise I see not how we are to account for the extraordinary circumstance, that each should have the same divine inhabitant, and that each should be provided with the same furniture or machinery. But, as we advance, this conclusion will assume the form of absolute certainty. Isaiah lays the scene of his magnificent vision of Jehovah and the Seraphim in the temple³: but, when Ezekiel beholds his closely parallel vision, he does not behold it in the temple, but in the heavens that were opened for that express purpose⁴. The apparition after-

¹ His lordship allows, that *they had reason in their rage*: whence I conclude, that he did not deem them more than *half* mad.

² Psalm xviii. 9—13.

³ Isaiah vi. 1.

⁴ Ezek. i. 1.

ward indeed descends, both on the banks of the river Chebar, and into the temple at Jerusalem : yet, when he views it in the opened heavens, it is impossible not to perceive, that his description, like that of Isaiah, is entirely drawn from the furniture of the tabernacle¹. Now such imagery could never have been used, unless the holy of holies had been a transcript of heaven : for, on any other supposition, the use of it would have been a glaring impropriety. The same result is no less forcibly brought out by the frequent allusive phraseology of the Hebrew writers. We never familiarly allude to any matter, unless the matter itself be previously familiar. Hence, if those writers familiarly speak of heaven in language clearly allusive to the holy of holies, a firmly-rooted and well-known idea must have been present to their minds that the holy of holies was a transcript or symbol of heaven. *Lord, says David, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart*². Are we to suppose, that the Psalmist here meant the *literal* tabernacle and the *literal* hill of Zion? If so, we pledge ourselves to believe, that every pious Israelite, while his brethren contented themselves with visiting Jerusalem at the three great festivals, actually

¹ Ezek. i. x.² Psalm. xv. 1, 2.

took up his abode within the tabernacle and built his dwelling house in the precincts of the holy hill. Since then a *literal* interpretation of the passage involves a manifest absurdity, we may be sure that David is speaking of heaven in language familiarly allusive to the mundane tabernacle. Accordingly we find a passage in Isaiah, than which there cannot be a better commentary upon the passage before us. *Look upon Zion the city of our solemnities: thine eye shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken*¹. Such characteristics of perpetuity can belong only to what St. Paul denominates a *true tabernacle* and to what he describes as a *Jerusalem that is above*. So again: *He, that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High, says the Psalmist, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty*². There cannot be a doubt, that we have here an allusion to the holy of holies and to the shadowing pinions of the Cherubim: but did any Israelite ever *literally dwell* in that sacred adytum, to which the high priest *alone* had access, and even *he* but once annually? What is it then, which the holy minstrel points out in this familiar language of well understood allusion? Clearly that heaven, which the apocalyptic writer, in the usual strain

¹ Isaiah xxxiii. 20.² Psalm xci. 1.

of his countrymen, describes as *the temple of God in heaven*¹. Of an exactly similar nature is the allusion of the Prophet Isaiah. *Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy holiness and of thy glory*². In this passage, though heaven itself is avowedly spoken of, yet the language is studiously borrowed from the circumstances of the tabernacle: for the words, *habitation* and *holiness* and *glory*, all refer to the earthly sanctuary as a pattern of the heavenly. It were superfluous to produce any more parallel instances: they occur perpetually in the compositions of the Hebrew writers. But this perpetual occurrence could never have taken place, unless the belief, that the holy of holies was a designed image of heaven, had been quite familiar through every age to the whole Levitical Church.

(4.) Thus I think it most abundantly clear, that the ancient Israelites well knew the holy of holies to be a designed transcript of heaven: and, as they further knew, that God was to be reconciled to man and that the injury of the serpent was to be repaired through the instrumentality of the promised Seed; I see not how they could well avoid drawing the conclusion of Philo, that the high-priest was an image of the first-begotten

¹ Rev. xi. 19. See likewise Rev. iv. where heaven is plainly described by imagery borrowed from the temple.

² Isaiah lxiii. 15.

Divine Word or Angel of Jehovah. For, if they knew the holy of holies to be a transcript of heaven, must they not have immediately perceived, that the high-priest annually performed on their behalf the identical service which they had been taught to hope that the promised Seed *would* perform for them? He entered the chamber which they knew to be a symbol of heaven; and there, in the immediate presence of God, he made atonement with blood for their errors and offences. This was a service totally different from every ordinary service, by which mere transgressions of the ceremonial law were expiated. Here the high-priest entered heaven alone, while every other person was excluded. But why should he thus enter it, and why should he there solemnly make atonement for the sins of the people; if this atonement was of no higher virtue and efficacy, than each ordinary atonement that was made upon earth for ceremonial transgression? Certainly, if the Israelites reasoned at all, they must have concluded, that the whole was a representation of that atonement and of that victory over the serpent which the promised Seed of the woman should at length accomplish: and under such circumstances, while it inevitably followed that the high-priest represented the promised Seed, they must have supposed that he entered into the symbolical heaven for the express purpose of securing their admission into the literal heaven. For, without this, how were

any victory achieved over the serpent? His machinations brought death into the world, and deprived man of a happy immortality. Nothing therefore could be a victory or a triumph over him, which fell short of depriving death of its sting by restoring to man a happy immortality in that heaven whither the antitype of the high-priest should enter by blood to make reconciliation with the Lord. In such a conclusion, as time rolled on, they would be the rather confirmed by the peculiar language of David. Speaking, as they well knew, of the promised Seed, he described him as being a high-priest for ever after the order of the King of righteousness. The full import of this prophecy they very probably did not understand: but they would learn enough from it to be assured, that the Messiah should be a high-priest; whence it would follow, that in his sacerdotal character he would bear a close resemblance to their own high-priest. Such being the case, they would obviously infer, that the entrance of the high-priest into the most holy place shadowed out the entrance of the Messiah into heaven, and that the pardon and reconciliation procured by the one shadowed out the pardon and reconciliation procured by the other.

That the matter was as well understood during the Levitical Dispensation as during the Christian, it would be alike absurd and unscriptural to assert. The apostle himself teaches us,

that *the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest, while as the first tabernacle was yet standing*¹: and the reason is plain; if it *had* been made fully manifest, no room would have been left for Christ to *bring life and immortality to light through the Gospel*. Amidst the shadows of the Law, the old Israelites saw as in a glass darkly: but still, though they might have much to learn both as to the mode and as to the nature of their redemption to eternal life, they had light enough to guide them in their road to heaven; they possessed the grand outlines of that religion, which alone is suitable to fallen man. In fact, after all that Bishop Warburton has said about the later allegorists, he seems to me in reality to give up the point: for he allows, that from Moses and the prophets together a learned Pharisee might collect the doctrine of *a future state*². But, if this be possible; then, at all events, we are no way bound to seek the origination of the doctrine among the allegorists *subsequent* to the time of the Babylonian captivity. That there were many Jews profoundly ignorant of the doctrines of their Church, I doubt not: but are not many, who bear the name of Christians, in the same unhappy predicament? The real question is, what was the standard doctrine of the Levitical

¹ Heb. ix. 8.

² Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 4. p. 423.

Church ? On this point I think there is sufficient evidence for believing, that they held those tenets darkly, which we hold clearly.

III. Bishop Warburton has written so largely and so well on the progress of expressing our ideas by graphical figures, from the absolute historical painting down to alphabetic characters ; and, with his remarks on this curious subject, he has so admirably mixed an account of the analogical progress of language, through parable and allegory and metaphor, down to the plainness of mere unfigured prose : that I have sometimes wondered, how he came not to apply his own principles more directly to the Law of Moses, and thence to draw out a result differing very considerably from his favourite hypothesis¹.

1. The whole ceremonial Law is as complete an hieroglyphic as the Bembine Table or the Ramessèan Obelisk : and, if the absolute *forms* and *figures* of its ordinances had been engraved in brass or sculptured on granite instead of being set down and described *in so many words*, there would have been no difference whatsoever between the two. So far as *principle* is concerned, they are exactly alike : for, in each case, ideas are conveyed by *things* instead of *words*. Thus, if, in the hieroglyphics of Egypt, *a star* denoted *a hero-god* and *a cynocephalus* denoted *the moon*² ;

¹ See Div. Leg. book iv. sect. 4.

² Horapoll. Hierog. lib. ii. c. 1. lib. i. c. 14.

in the hieroglyphics of the Law, *the paschal lamb denoted the Seed of the woman bruised by the malignity of the serpent and the tabernacle denoted the entire world both present and future.*

Are we then to suppose, that the ancient Egyptians understood their own hieroglyphics, but that the ancient Israelites were quite ignorant of the hieroglyphics of the Law? The thing does not seem probable. In all parts of the world we find it a common practice to express ideas by significant actions or significant objects: and the practice even yet runs, before we are well aware of it, into our common language. Why then should we imagine, that the Israelites alone were left in the dark, while the Gentiles fully understood the purport of their own hieroglyphics? If the ceremonial Law was to *them*, what the Egyptian hieroglyphics are at present to *us*; it is hard to conceive, how they could have rendered any reasonable service to God. The hieroglyphics, used in prophecy, were certainly well known from the earliest periods¹: and one great branch of education in the Hebrew schools of the prophets seems to have been a careful grounding of the pupils in the proper application of these hieroglyphics; for it were idle to suppose, that one man could actually teach another man how to predict future events. Hence it is but natural to conclude,

¹ Gen. xxxvii, 5—11.

that the priestly caste were similarly instituted in the use and meaning of the legal hieroglyphics; and that the explanations of the tabernacle and the high-priest, given by Josephus and Philo and according so remarkably with those given by St. Paul, were no figments of a later allegorizing age, but were in fact the ancient standing explanations of the Levitical Church herself.

This, I should think, would account for their singular agreement with the Epistle to the Hebrews much more satisfactorily, than to ascribe it to a lucky chance on the part of Bishop Warburton's later allegorists. In process of time, the Pharisees did indeed make void the Law by their traditions: but they seem to have had certain principles of exposition and application, which in the main brought them tolerably near to the truth. Thus we rarely find them erring in the application of prophecy to *the Messiah*; though they would not allow that character to *Jesus of Nazareth*, and though they were perplexed by the apparently jarring attributes of a sufferer and a conqueror.

2. With respect to the principle of hieroglyphical interpretation, we find it very distinctly evolved in the Law itself.

I am the Lord your God, which have separated you from other people. Ye shall THEREFORE put a difference between clean beasts and unclean: and ye

*shall not make your soul abominable by beast or by fowl or by any manner of living thing that creepeth on the ground, which I have separated from you as unclean. And ye shall be holy unto me: for I the Lord am holy, and have severed you from other people that ye should be mine*¹.

In this passage, *the reason*, assigned for a difference being put between clean beasts and unclean, is the separation of the Israelites from the Gentiles. But it will be utterly impossible to discover, how the one can be any reason of the other, unless the unclean and the clean animals be severally types or hieroglyphics of the Gentiles and the Israelites. Accordingly, in the vision of St. Peter, we find them used in this precise manner. The apostle is instructed, not by words, but by symbols. Instead of being literally commanded to preach the Gospel alike both to Jew and to Gentile, he is hieroglyphically enjoined to eat indiscriminately of clean and unclean animals. The great sheet let down from heaven was as perfect a tropical hieroglyphic as any invented by the ingenuity of Egypt.

3. Now the pursuing of this principle, agreeably to what I suspect to have been the practice of the Levitical Church from its very foundation, or at all events agreeably to the ancient familiar practice of speaking in parables or apologues,

¹ Levit. xx. 24—26.

constitutes what Bishop Warburton deems the exclusively allegorizing humour of the later Jews alone.

As we possess not any writings of the more ancient Israelites save those which occur in the inspired volume itself, we certainly cannot speak with *positiveness* beyond what the Bible itself enables us to speak: yet the hieroglyphical dreams of Joseph which were immediately understood both by his father and by his brethren, the apologue of Jotham, and the parables of Nathan and the Tekoan woman, all shew a complete familiarity with the identical principle on which the ceremonial Law has been constructed. In each case, after the manner of the ancients particularly throughout the East, a manner (as it is well known) imported by Pythagoras into the West, instruction is conveyed by *things* and not by *words*: just as, in writing (to take up the parallel so excellently pursued by Bishop Warburton), the present Chinese character expresses *objects* and not *sounds*.

But, when we descend to later times, we not only find the principle acted upon, but we may observe it also distinctly avowed. The Babylonian Talmud¹ lays it down as a general rule of the Levitical Church, that, *whosoever expounds the sacred text of the Law according to its form*, that is, according to its gross literal sense, *lo, he is a liar*¹. Such is the rule: and the principle of

¹ Bab. Talm. apud Præf. in Maimon. de vacc. ruf.

that rule is very philosophically set forth by Josephus. *There are two modes, says he, of conveying instruction: the one, by verbal precepts; the other, by practical exercises appertaining to morals. Most legislators, entertaining different opinions of their respective merits, have satisfied themselves with adopting only a single mode: thus the Lacedemonians and the Cretans taught by actions and not by precepts, while the Athenians and the other Greeks taught by precepts and not by actions. But our legislator industriously joined the two together, employing at once both action and precept: insomuch that, beginning with our very food, he left not even the smallest particular to the wandering humour of each individual. Thus, while he taught us, what we might lawfully eat, and what we must carefully abstain from; he also taught us, with what persons we might associate, and when we ought to labour or when we ought to rest from labour: so that, living as it were perpetually under the eye of a father or a master, we might be precluded from offending either wilfully or ignorantly*¹.

4. As I have recently mentioned Pythagoras, I cannot do better than conclude this discussion with some specimens of his mode of teaching by signs rather than by words: because they tend to shew the perfect familiarity of the principle, on which is built the ceremonial Law of the Hebrews.

Stir not the fire with a sword. Put far from thee

¹ Joseph. cont. Apion. lib. ii. § 16, 17.

every vessel of vinegar. Wipe not your seat with a fire-brand. Sit not upon a bushel. Pursue not animals with crooked claws. Stop not to cut wood upon a journey. Take not a swallow into thine house. Pare not your nails, while engaged in the solemnities of sacrifice. Devour not your own heart. Eat not your own brain. Wipe not away sweat with a sword. Make not libations to the gods from a vine which has never been pruned. Read not a poem to a beast.

One of these sayings, *Pursue not animals with crooked claws*, expresses the whole rationale of the Mosaical statute respecting unclean ravenous beasts: and another of them, *Read not a poem to a beast*, can scarcely fail to remind us of our Lord's own apophthegm, *Cast not your pearls before swine*.

CHAPTER VI.

RESPECTING THE ATTESTATIONS OF MOSES TO
THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE AS DIS-
COVERABLE IN THE BOOK OF JOB.

To enter upon the doctrine of *a future state* in the Pentateuch, save in the way of mere incidental allusion, were irrelevant to the subjects discussed in it. Hence it is nugatory to look for any very striking or distinct or explicit notices of that doctrine in the volume of the Hebrew Law. But, what Moses could not properly enter upon in the Pentateuch, he has supplied, I am inclined to believe, in another work of a wholly different nature and style of composition. That work I suppose to be the book of Job.

Various have been the opinions entertained, respecting both the age in which Job himself flourished, the author of the book which describes his fortunes, and the drift and object of its composition.

I. Eusebius places Job two whole ages before Moses ; concurring in opinion with many of the

Hebrew writers, who describe him as living in the days of Isaac and Jacob. Shuckford supposes him to have been contemporary with Isaac. Spanheim places him between the death of Joseph and the departure of Israel from Egypt. And Kennicott and Heath, assenting to the general arrangement of Spanheim, represent him as contemporary with Amram the father of Moses ; Eliphaz the Temanite, whom they make the fifth from Abraham, being contemporary with both¹.

II. So much for the man : nor has there been less discrepancy respecting the author of the book.

Huet, Michaelis, and Kennicott, suppose it to have been the production of Moses ; adopting, in this particular, the sentiments of many of the most ancient Jewish and Christian writers. Grotius, Warburton, Heath, and Garnet, contend, that it was written at a late period of the Jewish history ; and ascribe it variously to Ezekiel or to Ezra. Lowth and Peters favour the idea of Job himself being its author. And Magee supposes, that, while Job was its original author, Moses, in transcribing the work which might have fallen into his hands either in the land of Midian or in the neighbourhood of

¹ See Magee's *Disc. on the Atonement*. vol. ii. numb. LIX. p. 107, 108. Eliphaz was not the fifth, but the third, from Abraham. His genealogical line was Abraham, Isaac, Esau, Eliphaz. See Gen. xxxvi. 10.

Idumèa, made some small and unimportant alterations, which will sufficiently account for occasional and partial resemblances of expression between it and the Pentateuch¹.

III. The object of the work likewise has excited no small degree of speculation.

Houbigant thinks, that it was composed for the purpose of shewing that a good man might be afflicted in this world without any imputation upon the divine justice; though, in the early ages, notoriously impious men were struck by the hand of heaven beyond the ordinary course of nature². Warburton, taking up the same leading idea, contends, that it was written by Ezra for the comfort of the Israelites, when they found the extraordinary providence of the Theocracy withdrawn from them³. Garnet deems it an ingenious allegory, in which the condition of Job is considered as descriptive of the sufferings of the Jews during the captivity⁴. Grey, the epitomiser of Schultens, contents himself with pronouncing it a perpetual document of humility and patience to all good men in affliction⁵. And Sherlock supposes it to have been written

¹ Magee's Disc. on the Atonement. vol. ii. p. 120, 121, 126—128.

² Houbig. in lib. Job. lectioni. apud Warburton.

³ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 2.

⁴ Garnet on Job. See Gray's Key. p. 229.

⁵ Grey's Preface apud Warburton.

in opposition to the ancient doctrine of two independent principles, one of good, the other of evil¹.

SECTION I.

Respecting the age and family and country of Job.

THE high antiquity of the age, in which Job *himself* flourished, seems to be very generally allowed, whoever might be the author of the *book* which records his trials: and, with respect to his precise epoch, I fully agree with Kennicott and Heath, that he ought to be esteemed the contemporary of Amram.

I. I shall give the chain of reasoning, by which I am brought to this conclusion: and, when the question of *authorship* comes to be discussed, other matters will occur which will lead to the same result.

1. Commentators are for the most part agreed in determining Idumèa, a part of Arabia Petrèa, to have been the country of Job.

This position has been maintained at large by Bishop Lowth: Kennicott considers him as having completely proved his point: Codurcus had long before maintained the same opinion: and

¹ Sherlock's Dissert. ii. postfixed to Disc. on prophecy. p. 236.

Dathe and the modern German critics give it their support. In fact, the position of the land of Uz, which on the one hand is declared by the author of the book of Job to have been the residence of his hero¹, and which on the other hand is said by Jeremiah to have coincided with the territories of Edom², is alone sufficient to demonstrate, that the country of Job must have been Idumèa³.

2. If then Job were a native and inhabitant of the land of Edom, it seems most natural to conclude, that he was a descendant of the patriarch Esau. In the abstract indeed it is possible, that he might have dwelt in that country *before* it was occupied by the Edomites; in which case, agreeably to the supposition of Eusebius and many Hebrew writers, he must have flourished previous to the birth of Esau's children, who were the patriarchal ancestors of the Idumèans: but, while this is possible in the abstract, such an opinion is confuted by the internal evidence which the book itself affords.

One of Job's friends is said to have been Eliphaz the Temanite⁴. But, in the scriptural genealogy of Edom, we find Eliphaz mentioned as the son of Esau and as the father of Teman⁵. Now the circumstance of *the Edomite Eliphaz*

¹ Job i. 1.

² Lament. iv. 21.

³ Magee's Disc. on the Aton. vol. ii. p. 101.

⁴ Job ii. 11.

⁵ Gen. xxxvi. 10, 11.

*being described as the father of Teman, and the circumstance of Eliphaz the friend of Job being styled the Temanite, jointly identify Eliphaz the friend of Job and Eliphaz the son of Esau: for Eliphaz the friend of Job is styled the Temanite, plainly in consequence of his inhabiting a district in the land of Edom on which he had bestowed the name of his eldest son*¹. Job therefore must have been contemporary with *Eliphaz the son of Esau*; and, as such, he must have flourished *subsequent* to the occupation of Idumèa by the children of that patriarch. Flourishing then in the land of Edom *subsequent* to its occupation by the children of Esau, and being the intimate friend of Eliphaz the son of Esau, it is only reasonable to conclude, that he was himself likewise one of Esau's descendants.

3. The next point to be considered is, *how* Job was a contemporary of Eliphaz? That is to say, whether he or Eliphaz was the older man?

This point is one of prime importance: for, if Job were the *older* of the two, he could not have been an Edomite *by descent*, though he was dwelling *in the land* of Edom. The reason is

¹ Such a practice was not without precedent among the ancestors of Eliphaz: Terah had already given the name of his son Haran to the region of Mesopotamia, whither he migrated from Ur of the Chaldèans. Gen. xi. 28, 31. xii. 4, 5. Hence, Terah, from the country, might be styled a *Haranite*, just as Eliphaz is called a *Temanite*.

obvious. Job is not mentioned among the *sons* of Esau: consequently, if he were a *descendant* of that patriarch, he must have been removed some generations further from the parent stock than Eliphaz, and must therefore have been a *younger* man. Hence it is plainly necessary to the supposition of Job's being an Edomite *by descent*, that he should be *younger* than Eliphaz the *son* of Esau.

The point before us is very satisfactorily determined by the book of Job itself. Eliphaz the Temanite, speaking both in his own behalf and in behalf of Job's other two friends Bildad and Zophar, represents himself and them as *very aged men, much older than even Job's father*¹: and Elihu, in a similar manner, describes all the three as being *very old*; modestly using, in reference to his own juniority, the oriental apoph-

¹ Job xv. 9, 10. From this circumstance of high priority of age I conclude, that Bildad and Zophar could not have been of Esau's stock, but that they were two aboriginal princes of the country. They are described, as being *coëtaneous* with Eliphaz. But with *him* they could not have been *coëtaneous*, and yet *Edomites*; unless they had been, either his *brothers*, or his *nephews through a brother much older than himself*. Their names however do not occur at all in the genealogy of Esau. Hence I conclude, that they were not Edomites, but aboriginals. The epilogue to the Greek translation by the Seventy seems to confirm this opinion: for, while it speaks of Eliphaz as being one of the sons of Esau, it simply mentions Bildad and Zophar as the two reguli of the Sauchéans and the Minéans without giving the least hint of their descent from that patriarch.

thegm, *Days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom*¹. If then Eliphaz, the son of Esau, were much older than even Job's father; Job himself, at the commencement of his trials, must have been a comparatively young man: and, if descended from Esau, he must have been full two generations lower in the pedigree than Eliphaz. That is to say, if Eliphaz, the son of Esau, were much older than Job's father; Job's father would be coëtaneous with about the son of Eliphaz, and Job himself would be coëtaneous with about the grandson of Eliphaz or the great-grandson of Esau.

Thus it appears, that there is nothing in *the age* of Job, which prevents him from being an Edomite *by descent*: the high *local* probability therefore of his belonging to the stock of Esau remains in full force.

4. Having now ascertained the comparative ages of Job and Eliphaz, and having found that Job must have stood in the same generation with the great-grandsons of Esau, we may naturally expect to find a man of his eminence *duly mentioned* among the great-grandsons of that patriarch, if indeed he were one of his descendants: and here accordingly we shall not, I apprehend, be disappointed.

By his wife Bashemath, the daughter of Ishmael, Esau became the father of Reuel: the

¹ Job xxxii. 4—7.

son of Reuel was Zerah : and the son of Zerah was Jobab. This Jobab, the great-grandson of Esau and therefore the strict contemporary of Job, is described, as being like that personage a man of high rank, and as reigning in a district of Edom subsequent to Bela an aboriginal prince of the house of Seir the Horite¹. In every particular, therefore, Jobab corresponds with Job : and, as, in addition to circumstantial evidence, the name *Jobab* is evidently the name *Job*, written, by the reduplication of a letter, somewhat more fully ; we have very little reason to doubt, that Jobab and Job are one and the same person.

Such, accordingly, is the determination of the intelligent writer of the Greek epilogue, suffixed to the translation of the book of Job by the Seventy. He states, that Job dwelt in the land of Ausitis or Uz, on the confines of Idumèa and Arabia : that his original name was *Jobab* : that he was the son of Zerah, the grandson of Esau : and, consequently, that he was the fifth in descent from Abraham. To these particulars he adds, what I have already observed, that Eliphaz was one of the sons of Esau.

II. This arrangement of the age and family and country of Job will be found to make the whole narrative perfectly harmonious and consistent.

¹ Gen. xxxvi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 32, 33.

1. According to the excellent postdiluvian chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch, Jacob and Esau were born in the year 1102 after the deluge; and, according to the system of Archbishop Usher, in the year 1836 before the Christian era. But Esau espoused Bashemath, the mother of his son Reuel, when he was about forty years of age¹: and, nearly at the same time, he likewise espoused Judith or Adah, the mother of his son Eliphaz². Hence we may conclude, that Reuel and Eliphaz were each born A. P. D. 1143 or A. A. C. 1795. If we next suppose, that Zerah was born to Reuel at the probable age of about thirty nine years, the date of Zerah's nativity will be A. P. D. 1182 or A. A. C. 1756: and, if again we suppose, that Job or Jobab was born to Zerah at the probable age of about thirty eight years, the date of Job's nativity will be A. P. D. 1220 or A. A. C. 1718. According however to the Greek translators, Job was seventy years old when his trials commenced³; an age, which fully approves itself to be accurate, though it occurs not in the present Hebrew text, by the circumstance of Job's having ten *adult* children at that time⁴. Such being the case, the trials of Job must have commenced about A. P. D. 1290 or A. A. C. 1648. But

¹ Gen. xxvi. 34. xxxvi. 4. Compare xxviii. 9.

² Gen. xxvi. 34. xxxvi. 2, 4.

³ Job xlii. 16.

⁴ See Job i. 2, 4, 5, 18, 19.

he lived after his trials, which seem to have begun and ended within the space of a few weeks, according to the Hebrew, one hundred and forty years, or, according to the Greek, one hundred and seventy years¹. He must therefore have died, according to the former computation, about A. P. D. 1430 and A. A. C. 1508; or, according to the latter computation, about A. P. D. 1460 and A. A. C. 1478. But, if Job's trials commenced A. A. C. 1648, and if his great-uncle Eliphaz was born to Esau A. A. C. 1795; then Eliphaz must at that period have been one hundred and forty seven years old, while Job himself was seventy years of age and his father Zerah (supposing him to have been then alive) one hundred and eight years. This, accordingly, agrees very minutely with what Eliphaz says to Job, respecting himself and his two coëtaneous associates Bildad and Zophar. *What knowest thou, that we know not? What understandest thou, which is not in us? With us are both the grey-headed and very aged men,* MUCH ELDER THAN THY FATHER².

We have now obtained a satisfactory chronological arrangement both of Job's ancestors and of the events of his own life: it will be useful next to check it with the chronology of the parallel Abrahamic branch of Jacob.

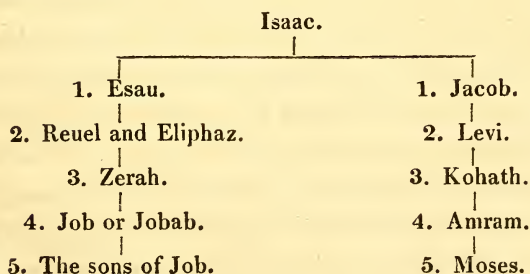
Job, we have seen, was the great-grandson of Esau: and Amram, the father of Moses,

¹ Job xlii. 16.

² Job xv. 9, 10.

was the great-grandson of Jacob. Amram therefore and Job stand on the same genealogical step, while Moses stands a step lower than each of them. In a similar manner, Kohath occupies the same step with Zerah; and Levi again, the same step with Reuel and Eliphaz¹. Now Levi was born A. P. D. 1182 or A. A. C. 1756: his brother Joseph was born A. P. D. 1194 or A. A. C. 1744: and his great-grandson Moses was born A. P. D. 1367 or A. A. C. 1571. Hence, by dividing on the average of three generations the period which occurs between the births of Levi and his great-grandson Moses, we may conclude, that Kohath was born about A. P. D. 1247 or A. A. C. 1691, and that Amram was born about A. P. D. 1307 or A. A. C. 1631². In A. P. D. 1304 or A. A. C. 1634, died the patriarch Joseph:

¹ The following table will exhibit the genealogy of the two lines at a single point of view.



² This arrangement will make Amram die three years before his son Moses demanded from Pharaoh the liberation of Israel: for Amram died at the age of one hundred and thirty seven years (Exod. vi. 20.), and Moses first accosted Pharaoh A. A. C. 1491.

in A. P. D. 1329 or A. A. C. 1619, died his brother Levi : about A. P. D. 1380 or A. A. C. 1558, died Kohath, at the age of one hundred and thirty three years¹: about A. P. D. 1444 or A. A. C. 1494, died his son Amram at the age of one hundred and thirty seven years²: in A. P. D. 1407 or A. A. C. 1531, Moses fled into Midian: and lastly, in A. P. D. 1447 or A. A. C. 1491, Moses stood before Pharaoh to demand the liberation of Israel.

Now, by comparing together these two chronological statements, it will appear, that Moses fled into Midian twenty three years before the death of Job according to the reading of the Hebrew, or fifty three years before his death, according to the reading of the Greek: that the trials of Job took place fourteen years before the death of Joseph, and one hundred and seventeen years before the flight of Moses into Midian: and, consequently, that they occurred, while the Israelites were living in peace and prosperity under the protection of a native Mizraimic Pharaoh, and before *the new king or dynasty arose up over Egypt which knew not Joseph*³.

2. Having arrived at this last point, we shall be able to account for a very remarkable occurrence, which is detailed in the historical part of the book of Job, and which has hitherto occasioned no small degree of perplexity.

While Job was yet a prosperous man, the

¹ Exod. vi. 18.

² Ibid. vi. 20.

³ Ibid. i. 8.

Chusdim or Chaldèans, we are told, made out three bands, and fell upon the camels, and carried them away, slaying the servants with the edge of the sword¹. Now, as the Chaldèans occupied the city and territory of Babylon, and as the land of Uz was a district of Idumèa full five hundred miles from Babylon across the desert even as the bird flies; the question is, how the Arab prince can have been liable to this attack from such very distant marauders.

To solve the difficulty, some have assigned to Job a residence in Arabia Deserta, not far from the Euphrates, that so he may come in contact with the Chaldèans. But this cannot be tolerated even for a single moment: because the evidence, that the land of Uz was a district of Idumèa, is so strong as to amount nearly to absolute demonstration. Lowth therefore and Shuckford take a different method. Rightly contending that Job was an inhabitant of Idumèa, they think it nevertheless very easy to conceive, that the Chaldèans, being accustomed to rove at immense distances for the sake of plunder, might make excursions through the desert from the banks of the Euphrates even to the borders of Egypt. This solution the excellent Archbishop Magee thinks fully satisfactory²: and I will not deny, that such an occurrence is *possible*, though I greatly doubt whether

¹ Job. i. 17.

² Disc. on the Aton. vol. ii. p. 101, 102.

it be very *probable*. Five hundred miles across a sandy desert seems a vast tract of country for a band of robbers to pass over: but, to omit this difficulty, which is not absolutely invincible, we can scarcely assign an adequate *motive* for plunderers out of Babylonia to choose such a course. With the rich vale of the Euphrates before them, stretching northward to the fertile countries of Mesopotamia and Syria, they would hardly take the trouble to wander five hundred miles through the howling waste of Arabia Deserta in the hope of finding merely accidental plunder. But, whatever may be thought either of the possibility or the probability of such an excursion, I am fully convinced, that the Chusdim or Chaldèans, who carried off Job's camels, were not *at that time* stated inhabitants of Babylonia, though I believe them to have *previously* been emigrants from that country. In reality, when they plundered Job, they were his near neighbours: and very troublesome they proved themselves to more persons than to the Arab prince.

At a remote period, the Indo-Scythians of the Ethiopic or Cuthic stock, quitting their primeval settlements in the Indian Caucasus, descended along the valley of the Indus; and then, turning to the west, established themselves round the head of the Persian gulf and occupied the province of Babylonia. These are said by Diodorus to have been the allies of the second

Ninus, when he founded a new Assyrian dynasty, and to have coöperated with him in the capture of Babylon: hence they must have acquired a settlement in that region about the close of the first Assyrian dynasty; that is to say, about A. P. D. 803 and A. A. C. 2135. Here the pastoral warriors, under their family name of *Chusim* or *Chusdim* (by the Greeks expressed *Chaldæans*), reigned for the space of 215 years, perhaps however acknowledging the feudal superiority of the Assyrian emperor. While they occupied this region, a large body of them, either pressed for room or prompted by a love of adventure, emigrated from Babylonia and advanced into the West: but instead of marching directly across the inhospitable wastes of Arabia Deserta, they more prudently followed the course of the Euphrates northward, and thus, circuiting the wilderness and passing through Syria, they entered the land of Canaan from the north. This country they speedily subdued: and, from their own favourite appellation of *Palli* or *Shepherds*, they communicated to it the familiar name of *Pallisthan* or *Palestine*. Here their chief settlement was Tyre and Sidon, where they were known by the title of *Anakim* or *Fanakim* or *Phenicians*¹: but many of them,

¹ The Phenicians were of the same Indo-Scythic stock as the Pelasgi: hence, like them, they used the digamma, pronouncing their name *Anakim* as *Fanakim*.

emulous of yet further conquests, pushed on to the south-west and invaded the territories of the Mizraim. This irruption into Egypt took place A. P. D. 936 or A. A. C. 2002; that is to say, about six years before the birth of Abraham: whence we may fix their emigration from Babylonia to about A. P. D. 893 or A. A. C. 2045. Egypt they entirely subdued, and were there distinguished by the name of *Huc-Sos* or *Shepherd-Kings*: but, irritating the native Mizraim by their tyranny, they were forcibly expelled A. P. D. 1196 or A. A. C. 1742; on which they retired into the south of Palestine, among their brethren the Pallistim or Philistim. Fifteen years after their expulsion, Joseph was sold into Egypt: and, thirty seven years after the death of Joseph, they returned and once more completely subdued the Mizraim. This second conquest of Egypt occurred A. P. D. 1341 or A. A. C. 1547: and it is alluded to by Moses, when he says, that, after the death of the twelve patriarchs, *a new king* or *dynasty rose up which knew not Joseph*. At length the Shepherds, having harassed the native Mizraim and having persecuted the Israelites for the space of one hundred and six years, were finally expelled the country; their sovereign and the flower of their warriors having been miraculously overwhelmed by the Red Sea in A. P. D. 1447 or A. A. C. 1491¹.

¹ See this curious portion of ancient history discussed at

Now, if we compare these dates with the chronological arrangement of the history of Job as already settled, we shall find, that the Chusdim or Chaldæan Shepherds were first expelled from Egypt about twenty four years *before* the birth of Job or about ninety four years *before* the commencement of his trials, and that they returned into Egypt a second time about fifty one years *after* his trials had been accomplished. But, when they were first expelled from Egypt, they retired into the isthmian region and into the south of Palestine. Hence they were very near neighbours of Job *at the precise time*, when his camels are said to have been forcibly carried away by three bands of the Chusdim or Chaldæans. Such being the case, we can scarcely doubt, I think, that the Chusdim who plundered Job, were certain marauding individuals of the Shepherds, who had *previously* indeed emigrated from Babylonia, but who had *more lately* been expelled from Egypt, and who *then* occupied a country immediately contiguous to Idumæa.

Thus decidedly is the stamp of strict authenticity placed upon the book of Job by the very incident, which, on a superficial view, might appear to render the narrative a little suspicious or at all events of no easy explication¹.

large in my Origin of Pagan Idol. book vi. chap. 5. See likewise the chronological table at the end of that work.

¹ The subjoined table will exhibit at one point of view the

3. Nor will the preceding arrangement be found less serviceable in accounting for another circumstance mentioned in the history.

comparative chronology of the history of Job. In noting down the years after the deluge, I follow the Samaritan Pentateuch; the postdiluvian chronology of which evinces itself to be genuine, by its freedom from all contradictoriness, and by its capability of bearing the severest test to which it can be subjected.

A.P.D.	A.A.C.	
803	2135	Rise of the second Assyrian dynasty, and conquest of Babylonia by the Indo-Scythic Shepherds.
893	2045	About this time a great branch of the Shepherds emigrate from Babylonia, advance westward round the Arabian desert, and enter the land of Canaan from the north.
936	2002	The Shepherds, having passed through and subjugated the land of Canaan, invade and conquer Egypt.
942	1996	Abraham born.
1042	1896	Isaac born.
1102	1836	Jacob and Esau born.
1143	1795	Reuel and Eliphaz born about this time to Esau.
1182	1756	Levi born to Jacob.
1182	1756	Zerah born about this time to Reuel.
1194	1744	Joseph born to Jacob.
1196	1742	Expulsion of the Chusdim or Chaldæan Shepherds from Egypt, upon which they retire into the south of Palestine.
1220	1718	Job or Jobab born about this time to Zerah.
1247	1691	Kohath born to Levi.
1290	1648	The trials of Job commence, when, according to the Greek, he was seventy years old.
1304	1634	Joseph dies.
1307	1631	Amram born to Kohath.

We have sufficient reasons for believing, that idolatry originated at Babylon; whence the same rites and the same theological speculations were carried by them of the dispersion, with surprising uniformity, to every quarter of the globe¹. Now to this hypothesis it may seem an objection, that idolatry is plainly enough described as being only in a *nascent* state among the countrymen of Job at the time when he flourished, that he had hitherto succeeded in pre-

A.P.D.	A.A.C.	
1329	1619	Levi dies.
1341	1597	The Chusdim or Chaldæan Shepherds return into Egypt; when the new dynasty, namely that of these Chusdim, rises up, which knew not Joseph.
1367	1571	Moses born to Amram.
1380	1558	Kohath dies.
1407	1531	Moses flees into Midian.
1430	1508	Job dies, according to the Hebrew text, having lived 140 years after his trials.
1444	1494	Amram dies
1447	1491	Moses stands before Pharaoh, and demands the liberation of Israel: the power of the Shepherds is broken by the catastrophè in the Red sea: and this catastrophè leads to their second and final expulsion.
1460	1473	Job dies, according to the Greek text, having lived 170 years after his trials; and consequently, if the reading of the Seventy be the true one, having survived the destruction of Pharaoh and his host 13 years.

¹ See Orig. of Pag. Idol. book i. chap. 1. § IV. book iv. chap. 3. book vi. chap. 1.

serving his family from infection, and that both he himself and his friends were steady worshippers of the true God. But, if we suppose Job to have been an Edomite the great-grandson of Esau, we shall find, that the whole difficulty will be at once removed. Esau would doubtless carry with him into Idumèa the pure worship of his pious ancestors Abraham and Isaac, and would hand down that worship to his posterity. Meanwhile, some of the aboriginals would persevere in their idolatry : but others, like Bildad and Zophar, thankfully receiving divine knowledge from Esau or from Eliphaz or from Reuel, would turn to the worship of the living God. Such however is man's lamentable proneness to error, that, in the third generation from Esau, the genealogical step occupied by Job, the Edomites would begin to turn a longing eye to the idolatry of their neighbours; and the prudence of the holy man would be much exercised in preserving his household from contagion. Respecting the propriety of his own religious conduct, he could safely appeal to his friends : *If I beheld the Sun when it shined, or the Moon walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand: this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above*¹. But the secret hankering of his wife after idolatry,

¹ Job xxxi. 26—28.

sufficiently evinced by her wish to draw her suffering husband into apostasy, shews, that the anxiety of Job in regard to the stedfastness of his children was by no means superfluous.

The passages, which respect these matters, do not seem to me to have been rightly explained in our common translation: I shall therefore take the present opportunity of giving what I esteem their true sense.

Our translators represent Job, as fearing lest his sons might be tempted to *curse God* in their hearts: and they exhibit his wife, as exhorting him to *curse God* and die.

Now, to say nothing of the utter improbability both of such danger and of such an exhortation, I am unable to comprehend on what principles the original Hebrew word has been rendered in this sense of *cursing*. The word itself denotes, not *to curse*, but its direct opposite *to bless*: and it is evident, that the incongruous sense of *cursing* has been ascribed to it, simply because it appeared impossible that *to bless the true God* could ever have been deemed a sin. To suppose however, that *the true God* is intended, is a begging of the question. The original word *Elohim* is in the plural number: and, though it is doubtless perpetually used to describe the one true God; yet it is likewise very often used, as a plural noun, to designate the false gods of the Gentiles. In this latter

sense, I apprehend, it ought to be understood in all the passages under consideration.

Job, well knowing that every idol-sacrifice was a feast also, labours under the natural apprehension, that his sons and daughters, in the course of their mutual feasting, might be tempted to imitate the practices of their neighbours; so that, if through fear of their father they might be restrained from *open* apostasy, they might at least *secretly* and in the desires of their hearts *bless the gods* of the pagans and thus be guilty of sin against Jehovah. Hence, *when the days of their feasting were gone about, Job, we are told, sent and sanctified them, and rose up early in the morning, and offered burnt-offerings according to the number of them all: for Job said; It may be, that my sons have sinned, and have BLESSED THE GODS IN THEIR HEARTS. Thus did Job continually*¹.

In a similar manner, when Job is bereaved of his children, and stripped of his substance, and himself visited with a noisome disease; his wife, observing these calamities and perceiving that her idolatrous neighbours were exempt from them, exhorts him to seek a more propitious deity, adding, that at all events death could but at last be his portion. *Then said his wife unto him: Dost thou still retain thy boasted religious perfec-*

¹ Job i. 5.

tion? What profit hast thou in serving Jehovah? BLESS THE GODS, *and die*¹.

After the same fashion, in Satan's two speeches to God I would translate the word interrogatively; though of course it there relates, not to the demons of the Gentiles, but to the one Supreme Being. *Put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath: and then WILL HE BLESS THEE before thy face*²? *Put forth thine hand now, and touch his bone and his flesh: and after that WILL HE BLESS THEE before thy face*³? He worships thee indeed with much apparent devotion, while prosperous: but bring him into trouble; and then see, whether he will bless thee as his God any longer.

(1.) On the same principles I account for the speculative orthodoxy of Balaam: for he certainly was a worshipper of Jehovah, though unhappily his belief did not influence his practice.

The mode, in which idolatry was first introduced, was not by abruptly persuading men to renounce *altogether* the worship of Jehovah and to substitute *in its place* the mixed astronomical worship of their deified forefathers; an attempt, plainly in the very nature of things impossible: but by speciously teaching them, that Jehovah the Messenger, the promised Seed of the woman, who was known repeatedly to have appeared on earth in a human form, had successively been incar-

¹ Job ii. 9.

² Job i. 11.

³ Job ii. 5.

nate in the persons of Adam and Enoch and Noah and the other principal patriarchs; whence those patriarchs ought all to be adored as *avatars* or descents of Jehovah¹. Afterward, as might easily be anticipated, the worship of the men so far prevailed over the worship of God, that the Supreme Being was forgotten, and that mere mortals were adored in his stead conjunctively with the heavenly bodies or with the material frame of the Universe. Hence Job, even at the early period when *he* flourished, distinctly perceived, that the idolatrous veneration of the Host of Heaven involved *a denial of the God that is above*²: and hence, when all knowledge of the unseen Jehovah was blotted out by prevailing corruption, St. Paul most accurately speaks of the Gentiles as being in effect atheists; and describes them, in consequence of their having changed the truth of God into a blasphemous lye, as worshipping and serving the creature rather than the Creator³.

It seems probable, that, in the time of Balaam, the original principles, on which idolatry was founded, were not entirely forgotten: but his own speculative knowledge of Jehovah is far too

¹ See above book i. chap. 6. § IV. and Orig. of Pagan Idol. book vi. chap. 6.

² Job xxxi. 28.

³ Rom. i. 25. See an excellent comment on this text in Bishop Cumberland's *Sanchon*. p. 11, 12.

accurate to warrant the supposition, that he received it through the corrupt medium of Paganism. The country of Balaam may admit of some dispute: for it may be doubtful, whether we ought to bring him from the confines of Iran or from the nearer region of Idumèa. Much may be said in favour of each opinion. If Balaam were not absolutely an Iranian Magus, some knowledge of his famous prophecy respecting the Star and the Sceptre seems to have been conveyed into Persia: for the *previous* expectation of the wise-men, that a star would announce the manifestation of the promised Deliverer, appears to be connected with that ancient prediction. On the other hand, Idumèa lies nearer to the scene of action: and the name of *Beor*, by which Balaam's father was distinguished, is an appellation which had already been borne by a prince in the land of Edom¹. If then Balaam were an Edomite, his birth must have taken place, either very shortly before, or very shortly after the birth of Job, according as we adopt the numerical reading of the Greek or the Hebrew: and thus both his genealogical descent from Esau, and the time when he flourished, will amply account for his acquaintance with the true God². If, on the contrary, he were a native of

¹ Gen. xxxvi. 32. See Bryant's *Observ.* p. 6—15.

² Job, according to the Hebrew text, died A. A. C. 1508: Moses stood before Pharaoh A. A. C. 1491: and Balaam pro-

western Iran, I should conclude that he was a descendant of Abraham through his second wife Keturah; whose numerous children, we are told, were *sent away eastward unto the east-country*: and thus, in either case, his knowledge of Jehovah will equally have been derived from his forefather Abraham¹.

(2.) As for the Philistèan Abimelech, his converse with Abraham and with Isaac, to say nothing of his preternatural dream, is abundantly sufficient to account for his being a worshipper of Jehovah long after the commencement of idolatry at Babel²: just as we similarly account for the devout recognition of the true God by Nebuchadnezzar and by Cyrus, on the ground of their having successively conversed with Daniel.

SECTION II.

Respecting the age and author of the book of Job.

BUT, while *Job himself* has thus been shewn to have flourished synchronically with Amram and

phesied to Balak A. A. C. 1451. Balaam therefore prophesied 57 years after the death of Job. If, on the other hand, we follow the chronology of the Greek which brings down the death of Job 30 years lower, Balaam will then have prophesied only 27 years after his death.

¹ Gen. xxv. 1—6.

² Gen. xx. xxvi.

Moses ; it by no means follows necessarily, that *the book*, which details his varied fortunes, should be of equal antiquity. In the abstract, it either may or may not ; for the undoubted antiquity of *the hero* has plainly nothing to do with the age of *the history* : his bare life may have been written at any given time subsequent to the events which it relates.

The book of Job, in a very remarkable manner, seems, as it were, to stand apart and detached from all the rest of the sacred canon. It inculcates indeed the same doctrines, as the other parts of God's Word : but we vainly seek to trace in it any clear and distinct connection with the *general* code of Holy Scripture.

Yet we are not, on this account, rashly to view it in the light of an apocryphal intruder : detached and insulated as it stands, it is recognized as an inspired production both by Ezekiel and by James and by Paul.

With respect to Ezekiel, notwithstanding Bishop Warburton denies that he refers to *the book* of Job, on the ground that he mentions *the man* only and not *the work* ; still the context of the passage alluded to, which occurs in his fourteenth chapter, seems imperiously to require, that we should suppose *the book itself* to be virtually cited by the prophet¹. He conjointly ad-

¹ Bishop Warburton is perfectly right in saying, that the mere mention of *the man* by Ezekiel does not prove the exist-

duces three righteous men, Noah, Daniel, and Job¹. But on what authority does he adduce them? Daniel was a living contemporary well known to all his brethren: so that it were superfluous to cite a written work, as containing such an example of righteousness. But Noah and Job were men, who had each flourished at a very remote period, and who therefore could only have been mentioned on some authority or other. Now the authority, on which he mentions Noah, is assuredly *the inspired book of Genesis*: but, according to Bishop Warburton (what indeed is absolutely necessary to *his* hypothesis, which would make Ezra the author of the work *subsequent* to the restoration of Judah from Babylon and therefore *subsequent* to the time when Ezekiel wrote), the authority, on which he mentions Job, is merely that of *old tradition*, the present written account of his life not being then in existence. Here then we have a palpable incongruity ascribed to the prophet: he places, upon an equal footing of authority, *the sacred written history* of Noah, and what (upon the bishop's

ence of *the book*. This, no doubt, is true: but then it is not quite a fair statement of the question. The real point is, whether Ezekiel does not *so* mention *the man*, as necessarily to involve an allusion to *the book*. Now this point can only be determined by the context, of which the learned prelate takes not the least notice. See Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 2. § I. 3. p. 305, 306.

¹ Ezek. xiv. 14, 20.

supposition) must in the days of Ezekiel have been *the mere legendary tale* of Job. Now, to avoid this glaring incongruity, we must, I apprehend, adopt a directly opposite supposition: which supposition will plainly involve both the then existence and the divine inspiration of the book before us. As Ezekiel, in mentioning *the man* Noah, virtually cites *the book* of Genesis; so, in conjointly mentioning *the man* Job, we must analogically conclude, that he also virtually cites *the book* of Job. But, if he thus cite *the book*, he both proves its existence prior to the time of Ezra, and places its claim to inspiration on the same footing with that of the book of Genesis.

Much the same remark applies to the reference made by St. James. *Ye have heard*, says he, *of the patience of Job; and have seen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is very pitiful and of tender mercy*¹. Now, in thus mentioning *the man*, he certainly refers to *the book*: and, in thus referring to *the book*, he plainly refers to it as a well-known and universally-received portion of the sacred canon.

But, if this were not sufficient, the question of that book's inspiration is for ever settled by the authority of St. Paul. *It is written*, says he; the usual formula employed by him in citing the inspired books of the Old Testament: *It is written, He taketh the wise in their own craftiness*². Now the book, whence this quotation is made,

¹ James v. 11.

² 1 Corinth. iii. 19.

is the book of Job¹. It will follow therefore, that, in the judgment of St. Paul, the book of Job is an inspired production.

We have now to inquire, whether there be any possibility of ascertaining the author of the work: a question, which (it is clear) can only be determined by such internal evidence as the book itself may afford.

I. For this purpose, we must begin with considering the age, to which that production ought generally to be ascribed.

1. Among the most prominent of those, who bring the work down to a very late period, is the learned Bishop Warburton. He pronounces it to be the composition of Ezra; and esteems it a sort of allegorical drama, though founded like Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* on real circumstances, written for the purpose of explaining to the Jews, that the partial and miraculous providence, which had hitherto attended their commonwealth, had now ceased to operate. If then such be its author and such its drift, we may expect, after the manner of the other sacred books, that it would frequently refer to various familiar points of Jewish history, and that it would specially allude to the events then taking place in the days of Ezra. Accordingly, the bishop produces many supposed references to facts which have been occurring from the time

¹ Job v. 13.

of Moses down to the restoration of Judah, and wishes particularly to shew a studied allusion to the several transactions in which Ezra himself was concerned.

Numerous are the objections, to which such a theory seems liable ; objections, which so far as I can judge, are altogether insurmountable.

(1.) I allow that some of the references to *early* events are very well made out by the bishop: but, when we descend to a *lower* period, it requires a most lively imagination to discern their propriety.

Hence we cannot but feel, that a series of mere fancied references to events, with which the adduced passages may possibly not have the slightest connection, is a very sandy foundation to build an hypothesis upon.

(2.) So again: there is reason, we have seen, to believe, that Ezekiel refers to *the book* of Job.

But, if this belief be well founded, the system of the bishop is irreconcilable with chronology: for, in that case, Ezekiel mentions the poem as being *already* in existence, *prior* to the restoration of Judah from Babylon.

(3.) Should such an argument however be deemed less certainly conclusive, what shall we say to the internal evidence afforded by the style of the composition ?

This, I am aware, the bishop makes very light of: yet every reader even of moderate taste cannot but feel and acknowledge its force. When

the Holy Spirit communicated the gift of inspiration, he conveyed *facts* and *doctrines*, not a *copiousness of words* or a *construction of periods*. The divine behests were delivered to the prophet indeed: but he himself was left to communicate them to man in his own phraseology. Hence we have that variety of style in the sacred books, which cannot be accounted for in any other manner. Such being the case, while the inspired historian of Job is plainly a man instinct with poetical fire and equal to the most sublime flights of a rapt imagination; we may venture to say, without any unbecoming irreverence, that the no less inspired Ezra, eminently devout and pious as he was, may well be esteemed, with the sole exception perhaps of Nehemiah, the very worst and most tasteless writer in the whole canon. We need only to read what we *know* him to have actually written, and we shall be convinced that he was a mere man of business; admirably indeed qualified to execute the work entrusted to him, but as little capable of producing the poem of Job as the author of those extraordinary verses which occur in the allegory of *the Pilgrim's Progress* was capable of writing *the Faery Queen* or *the Paradise Lost*. Doubtless Ezra, if such had been his commission, might, for all *practical* purposes, have communicated the moral of the book of Job, just as well as its incomparable author. But would he have done it in the same manner? It is almost impossible to believe, that he would.

So far as we can judge from the historical book of Ezra, not a spark of poetry would have been discernible from the beginning to the end of the discourse. As a steady man of business, Ezra would have faithfully communicated the high practical lessons revealed to him : and there we should have had an end of the matter. He would have turned neither to the right hand nor to the left, in order to cull a single poetic ornament or illustration. In short, I cannot think the observation of Bishop Lowth too strong, when combating the system of his great antagonist, that the ascription of the book of Job to such a writer as Ezra is scarcely less paradoxical than Hardouin's strange whim of assigning the golden verses of Horace and Virgil to the iron age of monkish pedantry and ignorance.

(4.) There is however another argument, which, being of a more tangible nature, may possibly by some be deemed more directly conclusive.

If Ezra wrote the book of Job with the drift which Bishop Warburton supposes, it plainly would altogether fail of producing the desired effect, unless its purport were *fully explained* to those for whose benefit it was intended. But, if once its purport had been so explained, the Jews could never have forgotten that explanation during the short period between Ezra and the birth of Christ. It would duly have been handed down in the public schools, and would have been taught by each expounding scribe in the syna-

gogues. The doctrine of *a special or equal providence* would have been effectually banished: and the Jews would have been satisfied, that their commonwealth was governed by the same general laws as any other commonwealth. But was this actually the case? Quite the reverse. When our Lord's disciples saw a man that had been blind from his birth, they immediately, in the very spirit of that Law which by a special providence ordained that temporal blessings or troubles should always follow piety or impiety, proceeded to inquire, whether the man was born blind by reason of his own sins in a preëxistent state or by reason of the sins of his parents¹. And, in a similar manner, when the tower of Siloam crushed by its fall eighteen individuals; it was forthwith concluded, as a thing of course, that their death was to be esteemed punitive, and that they were more wicked than all their other countrymen².

Now I contend, that, if Ezra wrote the book of Job by way of teaching the Jews that they were to expect a special providence no longer; and if they *knew* that such was its drift, which they *must* have known had Ezra meant it to be really useful to them: then they would, no more

¹ John ix. 1, 2. The Jews seem to have imbibed the pagan notion of a preëxisting state, with its inseparable concomitant the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, during the Babylonian captivity.

² Luke xiii. 1—5.

than ourselves, have pronounced every accidental death or corporeal infirmity a plain judgment upon some concealed wickedness ; then the doctrine would have been entirely given up from the time of Ezra, its erroneousness *subsequent* to that period having been determined by the express voice of revelation ; and then, consequently, it could not have been in existence during the ministry of Christ.

This argument alone seems to me fully conclusive against the theory of Bishop Warburton.

2. The hypothesis of a late production of the book of Job being thus rejected in the theory of its principal advocate, we have next to consider the hypothesis of an early production of that poem.

This second theory, I conceive, must at once recommend itself by its much greater abstract probability. For, if Job were contemporary with Amram and Moses, and if his character were such as to deserve being adduced by Ezekiel conjointly with Noah and Daniel ; it is incredible, that his history should have been left for so many centuries to the chance of mere tradition. Other circumstances, which were of importance to the chosen people of God, were not left thus neglected : they were duly committed to writing by persons, who were made fully competent to the task, about the time when the circumstances themselves actually occurred. Matters indeed, which *preceded* the existence of

the Hebrew commonwealth, whether handed down in writing or by tradition, were left to be regularly and accurately detailed by an inspired writer of the house of Israel; agreeably to what seems to have been the plan of divine wisdom, that the descendants of Jacob should *specially* be the vehicles of heavenly instruction to mankind: but the whole of their own history, from the time of Moses down to the time of Nehemiah, appears to have been either written by persons who were contemporary with the facts related, or to have been faithfully compiled from the regularly kept and well authenticated chronicles of the kings. The important moral history of Job on the contrary, if we adopt the hypothesis of its late production, was floating only in the stream of vague tradition, at the very time when Ezekiel adduces him as an eminent and well known example of righteousness. Hence the abstract probability most undoubtedly is, that the book of Job was written at a very early period; that it was written, in short, soon after the occurrence of the events which it details.

With this opinion, the internal evidence, afforded by the book itself, perfectly agrees. Its language, as some of our first critics have remarked, is that of very high antiquity: and, notwithstanding the efforts of Warburton and others to prove the contrary, the complete absence of any *clear* allusions to events in the Israelitish history *subsequent* to the days of Moses makes it

scarcely possible for the work to have been written by a more modern Jewish author. From the failure of various attempts even in our own days, we all know the extreme difficulty of composing at a late period a poem which shall be exhibited as the production of an early period. After the greatest care, something or other will always escape which too plainly betrays the hand of a modern writer. But, after attentively weighing every allusion to recent events by which Warburton would prove the comparative newness of the book, I can discover no reason, why all such passages might not have been written quite as well *before* the events to which they have been thought to refer, as *after* them ¹.

¹ To give a single instance: let the reader first turn to his Bible, and peruse Job xxxiii. 17—26. Let him then ponder, what modern event in the Jewish history this passage can possibly be thought to refer to. After a reasonable time spent in such an exercise, let him consult the Divine Legation book vi. sect. 2. § II. 1. p. 315, 316. for its supposed key. Then let him read the passage again, and consider whether it might not have been written just as well in the days of Job as in the days of Ezra. I doubt, whether by the laws of evidence any passage can be *positively established* as an allusion to a given circumstance, unless it can be at the same time shewn, that the passage *could not* have been written before the circumstance itself occurred. Thus, if some ancient chronicle of the gestes of William the Norman were produced as the work of a contemporary prelate, and if the conqueror were described as using cannon at the battle of Hastings, we should be *sure* that it was the production of a more recent age.

II. If then the book of Job be an inspired production, it must have been written by an inspired author. The next question therefore is, to what author we must ascribe it. Now, with respect to this point, when we consider its high antiquity, we shall forthwith perceive, that the only probable claimants of the work must assuredly be either Moses or Job.

1. Archbishop Magee, who, like myself, decidedly contends for the remote antiquity of the work, supposes either Job himself, or some Idumèan contemporary of his, to have been its author; conceives, that it fell into the hands of Moses while sojourning in Midian; and imagines, that in the transcription the Hebrew Lawgiver might have *made some small and unimportant alterations, which will sufficiently account for occasional and partial resemblances of expression between it and the Pentateuch, if any such there be*¹.

From this opinion he afterward in some measure departs; urging a reason why Job *must* be the author of the book, which, if valid, would effectually exclude any Idumèan contemporary of his, just as much as Moses or indeed as any other person.

Job, says he, *appears to have enjoyed the divine vision*². *In what manner, whether, as the Seventy think, by some appearance of a glorious cloud, or*

¹ Disc. on the Atonem. vol. ii. numb. LIX. p. 127, 128.

² Job xxxviii. 1. xlii. 5.

otherwise, it avails not. That, in some way, he was honoured with one of those extraordinary manifestations of the Deity by which the prophets and inspired persons were distinguished, and that he was admitted to immediate communion with the Almighty, is positively asserted. Now, if this did really happen (and the whole book becomes a lying fable, and a lying fable recognized by inspired writers as a truth, if it did not), it necessarily follows, that Job was a prophet: and as a natural consequence it must be admitted, that Job himself was the author of the work; since it cannot be supposed, that God would convey supernatural communications to one person, and appoint another to relate them¹.

The archbishop, therefore, finally contends, that Job himself, and no other individual, must have been the author of the book which bears his name: and, though he thinks that Moses made some alterations in the transcription of it, he denies that it could have been altogether his production.

If Moses was the author of the book, he argues; *as he must have intended it for the Israelites, it is scarcely possible to conceive, that, although relating an Idumæan history, he should not have introduced something referring to the peculiar state and circumstances of the people for whose use it was destined: of which no trace whatever appears in the work. There seems then, upon the whole, sufficient*

¹ Disc. on the Atonem. vol. ii. p. 129, 130.

ground for the conclusion, that this book was not the production of Moses, but of some earlier age; and there appears no good reason to suppose, that it was not written by Job himself¹.

As I cannot assent to the opinion of this very able divine, whose praise, on account of his masterly labours in defence of catholic truth, is in all the churches, I shall state distinctly and explicitly the grounds of my difference.

(1.) While the archbishop assigns the book to Job himself, rightly maintaining at the same time that it is an inspired composition, he thinks, that Moses, in the act of transcribing it, made certain alterations; small indeed and unimportant, yet still alterations.

Now by what authority did Moses take these alleged liberties with a confessedly inspired production? If by the authority of God; then, with reverence be it spoken, we have the Supreme Being unwarily though (I am fully convinced) most unintentionally exhibited as correcting his own works: if by the mere authority of Moses himself; we then have a holy man described as acting a part, which, to say the least of it, argues a high degree of presumption.

It is said indeed, that these supposed alterations were small and unimportant: but the question will still recur, how came Moses to make them at all? Had the alterations been *momentous*,

¹ Disc. on the Atonem. vol. ii. p. 126.

he had doubtless been guilty of impious dishonesty: if they were *small and unimportant*, it is difficult to acquit him of wantonly taking unauthorized liberties with a portion of God's most holy word.

Archbishop Magee however is manifestly led to advocate this dangerous theory, in order that he may thus obviate the adduction of passages which might seem too clearly to refer to the history of Israel: for, if any such passages can be produced, it is evident, that, without the aid of the theory in question, they will be fatal to his opinion, that the book was written by an Idumæan *previous* to the return of Moses from Midian into Egypt. Hence, while in one place he boldly denies, that any *trace whatever appears in the work* of a reference to the history of Israel¹: in another place, he subsequently and cautiously insinuates, that, after all, there may be *occasional and partial resemblances of expression between it and the Pentateuch*; but parries the probable objection by supposing, that the Hebrew Lawgiver, while transcribing the work, *made some small and unimportant alterations*².

In the present stage then of the discussion, the true question is, whether any passages can be adduced so clearly referring to the history of Israel, that they admit not of other application. If this should prove to be the case, the hypo-

¹ Disc. on the Atonem. vol. ii. p. 126. ² Ibid. p. 128.

thesis, that Job wrote the work *before* the return of Moses from Midian into Egypt, must inevitably fall to the ground. At least this must be the case, unless we be disposed to support it by the then *absolutely necessary* conjecture, that certain alterations were made by Moses in the act of transcription; a conjecture, so far as I can judge, alike dangerous and gratuitous.

(2.) Archbishop Magee however contends, that Job *must* be the author of the book: because, as he was certainly honoured by an extraordinary manifestation of the Deity, *it cannot be supposed, that God would convey supernatural communications to one person, and appoint another to relate them.*

I confess myself unable to see the force of this argument. If thrown into a syllogistic form, it will stand as follows. *No instance can be produced of God's conveying supernatural communications to one person, and yet of his appointing another to relate them: But God conveyed supernatural communications to Job. Therefore Job must have been the person, whom he appointed to relate them.*

This argument from analogy (for such, when sifted, it most undoubtedly is) would have had considerable weight, though it might not have been *quite* conclusive, if the analogy itself had existed: but the analogy, in fact, does *not* exist. We have repeated instances in Scripture of God's conveying supernatural communications to *one* person, and yet of his appointing *another*

to relate them. As the argument may be thought specially to concern the books of the Old Testament, I shall not insist upon the discourses of our Lord having been recorded by the four evangelists, or upon the discourses of the apostles having been recorded by the writer of the Acts: I shall satisfy myself with adverting only to the Hebrew Scriptures. How then does the matter stand? The several prophecies respecting the Seed of the woman, the approaching deluge, the varied fortunes of Noah's posterity, the promise of the land of Canaan to the descendants of Abraham, the future national characteristics of Ishmael and Esau and Jacob, the years of successive plenty and famine, the superiority of Ephraim over Manasseh, and the fates of the twelve tribes of Israel, were all supernatural communications severally conveyed to Adam and Eve, to Noah, to Abraham, to Hagar, to Pharaoh and Joseph, and to Jacob: yet none of these were the persons appointed to convey such communications to remote posterity *by committing them to writing in a book which should be received as inspired into the sacred canon*. If therefore we have such multiplied instances of God's conveying supernatural communications to *one* person, and appointing *another* authoritatively to relate them; I see not why we should be at all bound to conclude, that Job *must* be the writer of the book which bears his name, *because* the supernatural communications of which it

treats were conveyed to him. So far as any argument from analogy, is concerned, he *may not* be the author, just as well as he *may*.

(3.) There is yet another objection to the hypothesis of Archbishop Magee, which will serve to pave the way for our ascription of the book of Job to its true author. He supposes it to have been written by an Idumæan, and therefore by an alien from the commonwealth of Israel however pious the individual himself might be.

Now this seems to me to be directly contrary to the plan adopted of God, before the promulgation of the Gospel. The chosen house of Israel was both the special vehicle and the special depository of God's word. Others, during the patriarchal ages, both good men like Noah and Jacob, and bad men like Balaam and the chief baker, might and often did receive prophetic intimations : but, in the bare reception and oral delivery of them, terminated their commission. It was no part of their office to compose canonical books, which should be laid up as authoritative documents in the Church of God : this task was exclusively reserved for the seed of Israel, when the Levitical Dispensation should be added to the Patriarchal. Accordingly, not a single instance can be produced ; for to produce the book of Job as an exception were plainly to beg the very question which is litigated : not a single instance can be produced of any one of the canonical books, anterior to

the advent of Christ, having been *written* by any other than an Israelite. They *record* indeed, as occasion leads their authors, the inspired sayings of many who were not Israelites; and thus stamp upon them the impress of divine authority: but none of them were *written* save by Israelites alone.

To this peculiarity, which *certainly exists*, unless the book of Job be a solitary exception, St. Paul alludes in more than a single passage. *At that time*, says he to the Ephesians, *ye were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope and without God in the world*¹. And yet more pointedly he remarks, when summing up the peculiar privileges of his kinsmen according to the flesh: *Who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever*². The chosen people seem here to be represented as the exclusive vehicles and depositaries of God's word. To them appertain the promises: clearly not, as if they alone were *interested* or *concerned* in them, but as being the persons whose office it was first *to record them* and then in the canonical books *faithfully to hand them down* to posterity.

¹ Ephes. ii. 12.

² Rom. ix. 4, 5.

If then there be any ground for supposing that such was the special office of the natural Israel; and the circumstance of *all* the Hebrew Scriptures, with the sole exception of the litigated book, having been composed by members of that house strongly corroborates the supposition: if, I say, there be any ground for this supposition; then we cannot allow the book of Job to have been written by an Idumæan.

2. But, whatever may be thought of the present argument, there is evidence enough in the book itself to prove that it must have been composed by an Israelite *subsequent* to the delivering of the Law from mount Sinai: nor can this evidence be set aside, except by the gratuitous supposition, that the book indeed was written by Job, but that it was afterward interpolated by Moses.

In a passage already cited for a different purpose, the holy man is described as speaking in the following terms.

*If I beheld the Sun when it shined, or the Moon walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand: THIS ALSO WERE AN INIQUITY TO BE PUNISHED BY THE JUDGE; for I should have denied the God that is above*¹.

We cannot but observe, that Job here represents idolatry as A SIN LIABLE TO BE PUNISHED

¹ Job xxxi. 26—28.

BY THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE. But in what state throughout the whole world did any such enactment exist, save in the Hebrew commonwealth *after* the Law had been delivered from mount Sinai? In pagan countries, it clearly *could not* exist; and, in the land of Edom, it clearly *did not* exist: for, if it did, how are we to account for the manifest increase of idolatry in that country, to which Job evidently refers and which he no less evidently dreads? Admitting however that this point cannot be absolutely demonstrated, we may at all events reasonably argue, that, if any such statute had existed in primitive Edom, it must *previously* have existed in the more pure patriarchal houses of Abraham and Isaac, and must *synchronously* have existed in the chosen patriarchal house of Jacob: for, in the state of society which then prevailed, each of these powerful shepherds was a prince or (in modern oriental phraseology) an emir¹.

In combating the difficulty, which the text now before us presents to his hypothesis, Archbishop Magee appears to have altogether failed. *Scripture*, says he, *decides the point; as it informs us, that Abraham was called from Chaldæa, on account of the increase of idolatry, to raise a people for the preservation of the worship of the true God:*

¹ See particularly Gen. xiv. 12—24. xxi. 22—34. xxiii. 6. xxvi. 12—16, 26—29.

so that the allusion to the exertion of judicial authority against idolatry was most naturally to be expected from a descendant of this patriarch, and, it may be added, from one not far removed¹.

Most undoubtedly such an allusion might have been expected from Job, had any civil law against idolatry existed in the patriarchal houses descended from Abraham: but *the existence of this law* is, I apprehend, the very point to be proved, though it is the very point which Archbishop Magee has omitted to prove; for, if the law existed not before the time of Job, he plainly could not allude to it. It is perfectly true, that Abraham was called out of Chaldèa, on account of the increase of idolatry, in order that he might raise up a people to preserve the worship of the true God: but how does this prove, that either he or his immediate descendants had any commission to exercise judicial authority *in the punishment* of idolatry? They would of course *repress* and *discourage* it, as much as lay in their power: but this is not precisely the point. The question is, whether, *in the capacity of magistrates, they inflicted punishment upon such of their dependants or subjects as might be guilty of it*; just as they would have punished them for theft or murder. Now the mere call of Abraham from among the idolaters of Chaldèa

¹ Disc. on the Atonem. vol. ii. p. 109.

is no proof, that he either possessed or exercised any such power; and, unless this be proved, the text from Job remains in full force.

I am inclined however to think, that, instead of this point being capable of proof, we may easily shew, so far as we can judge from actions, that the Abrahamic patriarchs neither possessed nor exercised any judicial power of inflicting legal punishment on those members of their vast households who might be guilty of idolatry. That they were commissioned to punish the neglect of circumcision by death, is carefully recorded¹: but, while no hint is given that a similar power was delegated to them in the case of idolatry, their conduct, when that sin was discovered among them, distinctly proves that they did *not* exercise it. What for instance, if I may so speak, was the legal practice of Jacob under such circumstances? After he had returned with his family from Mesopotamia into Palestine, and when he was directed to build an altar to God at Beth-El and to dwell there, we find him saying *to his household and to all that were with him; Put away the strange gods that are among you, and be clean, and change your garments*². The command was speedily obeyed: for we read, that *they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hand and all their ear-rings which were in their ears; and Jacob hid*

¹ Gen. xvii. 14.

² Gen. xxxv. 1, 2.

*them under the oak which was by Shechem*¹. In this narrative we may behold the conduct of a pious master of a family, correcting an abuse among his dependents, and giving orders that it should be forthwith removed: but we shall vainly seek for any higher exertion of authority. Of whatever precise nature the idolatry might be, Jacob evidently speaks, not as a magistrate, but as the master of a family. Not the least hint is given, that he took any *legal* cognizance of the offence, or that he treated it as *an iniquity to be punished by the judge*, he himself acting as a magistrate in the case. We read not of any penalty, which these idolaters incurred: we hear nothing of any judicial sentence passed upon them. They are simply required to give up their strange gods and to abstain from all *future* idolatry: but no punishment awaits them for their *past* offence. Their case is left in the hands of God: for Jacob plainly acts, as if he felt himself possessed of no legal authority to *punish* them, in his character of a patriarchal judge, for the sin which they had committed.

Thus we have as distinct a proof as can well be desired, that, in the days of Jacob and consequently in the days of Esau, there was no law in existence, under which idolatry was determined to be *an iniquity punishable by the judge*; that is to say, *an iniquity which he was bound to*

¹ Gen. xxxv. 4.

coërce by pains and penalties, just as he would coërce robbery or murder. But, if no such law existed in the family of Jacob who was chosen to be the progenitor of God's peculiar people, it is perfectly gratuitous and improbable to suppose, that Esau should be the first to enact it for the government of Idumèa.

In fact, if we recollect the principles on which the Mosaical law against idolatry was founded, we shall clearly perceive that it *could* only have been enacted under a Theocracy. As God was *king* in Israel, idolatry was *high-treason*: and on *that* account it was to be punished in this world by the civil magistrate. The offence, under this its true aspect of a *civil* crime, was necessarily *peculiar* to the Levitical polity. Under no other form of government could the crime be *so* committed, as to warrant the interference of the judge. Hence, under the code of Moses, idolatry was to be punished with death: but, under the Christian Dispensation, though the sin is no less strictly forbidden, yet it is viewed as a matter between God and a man's own conscience; being no longer *high-treason*, it is not made cognizable by the *civil* magistrate. Now the polity of Idumèa was not a Theocracy. Therefore it *could not* have made idolatry punishable by the judge¹.

¹ It may be said, that, if in Christian countries men have often been punished for their religious opinions by the civil magistrate, men may likewise have been punished for idolatry by the civil magistrate of primitive Idumèa: for Christian

The argument then will at length stand as follows. Job is represented by the author of the book which relates his trials, as speaking of a law under which idolatry might be punished by the civil magistrate. But no such law was in existence, until it was delivered to Moses from mount Sinai. Therefore the author of the book must have flourished *subsequent* to the delivering of that law. But, if he flourished *subsequent* to the delivering of it, he could not have been Job himself; because Job flourished at an *earlier* period¹.

As the passage now under consideration thus distinctly proves, that Job himself *could not* have been the author of the book: so it will likewise prove, agreeably to what seems to have been God's plan in communicating his *written* word to mankind, that no one but an Israelite *could* have

governments are no more theocratic than that of Idumèa was. To this I reply, that there is a material difference between the two cases. Christian governments have been led into persecution from misapprehending *the principle* of the Levitical statute against idolatry. But the early Idumèans could have been liable to no such misapprehension, because the Levitical statute was not then in existence.

¹ According to the Hebrew text, Job died seventeen years before the delivering of the Law from mount Sinai: and, though, according to the Greek, he did not die until thirteen years after it; we can scarcely deem it probable, if he *were* the author of the book, that he did not write it until he were on the point of dropping into the grave. We have no sufficient reason however to suppose, that Job survived the exodus.

been its author. The law, respecting the punishment of idolatry by the civil magistrate, was strictly and exclusively a Levitical enactment. While an Israelite therefore, in writing the history of a foreigner, might easily and naturally be led to mention a law, which to himself was perfectly familiar though unknown in the country where the scene of action was laid : it is clear, that no foreigner, in writing the history of one of his own countrymen, could ever introduce his hero, as familiarly recognizing the existence of a law and as speaking of its ordinary operation, when all the while no such law was to be found in his native code, but was quite peculiar to the code of another nation. Thus an English poet, in versifying a Spanish story, might inadvertently speak of a trial by jury : but no Spanish poet, in versifying one of his national tales, could ever allude to that institution as existing in Spain. Hence the important passage before us, not only *disproves* the claim of Job to be the author of the book which bears his name, but likewise *proves* that its real author must have been *an Israelite*.

3. The only point then, which now remains to be determined, is, to *what Israelite* the book ought to be ascribed?

Now we have already seen, from the passage which has recently been considered, that the book *cannot* have been written *previous* to the delivery of the Law from mount Sinai : and, not-

withstanding the attempts of ingenious though fanciful authors, I will be bold to say, without any fear of demonstrative contradiction, that no clear and undeniable allusion to events *subsequent* to the time of Moses can be produced from any part of the poem; that is to say, no allusion so incontrovertible as to be a basis firm enough to sustain a system, no passage which might not have been written just as well in the days of Moses or of Joshua as in the days of Ezekiel or of Ezra. The age of the book being thus brought within the narrow limits, marked out by the delivery of the Law from mount Sinai on the one hand and by the death of Moses on the other hand; we shall scarcely, I apprehend, hesitate to attribute it to the vivid and masterly pen of the highly-educated legislator of the Israelites.

With this supposition, the internal evidence, afforded by the book itself, exactly agrees. Here indeed I would have it distinctly understood, that the allusions, which I am about to produce, by no means stand on the same footing as the passage relative to the punishment of idolatry by the civil magistrate: nor do I at all bring them forward as any *proofs*, properly so called, that Moses was the author of the poem. So far from it, I freely allow, that they *might* be viewed as mere *general* expressions: and, consequently, I build no demonstrative argument upon them whatsoever. All, which I contend for, is this;

that, if the passages in question *be* allusions to particular incidents, they are precisely such as Moses, under *his* circumstances, might well be expected, above all other men, to have introduced.

(1.) While an infant, the very life of the Hebrew legislator had been endangered by the tyranny of the Shepherd-Kings of Egypt: and, when an adult, he had beheld their oppression of his brethren, and had himself been driven by their chief into exile. Yet he had at length witnessed, both their coërcion by many awful plagues, and the final overthrow of their power in the Red sea¹. Now, as these very men had plundered Job himself during the period which elapsed between their first expulsion from Egypt, and their victorious return into that country, and as Moses was employed in writing the history of Job; nothing could be at once more natural and more congruous, than that he should take so favourable an opportunity of pointedly alluding to their varied fortunes. Hence we meet with passages, in which he may probably refer to the subjugation of Egypt and Palestine by the Shepherds, to the great prosperity which seemed for a season to attend those robbers, and to the tremendous oppression which they exercised over the vanquished.

If the scourge slay suddenly, he will laugh at the

¹ See Orig. of Pagan Idol. book vi. chap. 5.

trial of the innocent. The earth is given into the hand of the wicked: he covereth the faces of the judges thereof¹. The tents of the robbers prosper, and they that provoke God are secure; into whose hand God bringeth abundantly². They remove the landmarks: they violently take away flocks, and feed thereof. They drive away the ass of the fatherless, they take the widow's ox for a pledge. They turn the needy out of the way: the poor of the earth hide themselves together. Behold, as wild asses in the desert, go they forth to their work, rising betimes for a prey: the wilderness yieldeth food for them and for their children. They reap every one his corn in the field: and they gather the vintage of the wicked. They cause the naked to lodge without clothing, that they have no covering in the cold: that they are wet with the showers of the mountains, and embrace the rock for want of a shelter. They pluck the fatherless from the breast, and take a pledge of the poor. They cause him to go naked without clothing, and they take away the sheaf from the hungry. Men groan from out of the city, and the soul of the wounded crieth out: yet God layeth not folly to them. THEY ARE OF THOSE THAT REBEL AGAINST THE LIGHT: they know not the ways thereof, nor abide in the paths thereof. The murderer, rising with the light, killeth the poor and needy; and in the night he is as a thief. The eye also of the adulterer waiteth for the twilight, saying,

¹ Job ix. 23, 24.² Job xii. 6.

*No eye shall see me : and disguiseth his face. In the dark they dig through houses, which they had marked for themselves in the day-time : they know not the light*¹.

The persons, who perform all these deeds are marked out to us, as being members of a family celebrated for its daring opposition to divine truth : THEY ARE OF THOSE THAT REBEL AGAINST THE LIGHT. Now what family was it, which in old times was thus peculiarly characterized ? I know but of one, to which the author of the book of Job can with any degree of plausibility be thought to refer. This one therefore I suppose to be the house of Cush ; which, under the rebel Nimrod, introduced the first postdiluvian apostasy : and of this great house, consequently, the tyrants, so graphically described, are pronounced to be members ; *they are of those that rebel against the light, or they are of those that were rebels against the light*. Such an account exactly corresponds with the genealogy of the Shepherd-Kings. They were an eminent branch of the Cuthim, who were the grand ring-leaders in the building of the tower : and, from the whole of their audacious contest with God previous to the exodus, which Moses had witnessed and in which he had been a party concerned, they might well vindicate to themselves the rebellious character of their Babylonian ancestors.

¹ Job xxiv. 2—16.

Yet, though they might triumph for a season, their overthrow was predetermined and inevitable. The sacred writer, after detailing their multiplied acts of tyranny and after teaching us that they were members of a proverbially rebellious house, immediately goes on to allude to their final ruin and desolation.

*The morning is to them even as the shadow of death: if one know them, they are in the terrors of the shadow of death. He passes away swift as the waters: their portion is cursed in the earth: he beholdeth not the way of the vineyards. Drought and heat consume the snow-waters: Hades, sinners. The womb shall forget him, the worm shall feed sweetly on him: he shall be no more remembered; and wickedness shall be broken as a tree. They are exalted for a little while, but are gone and brought low: they are taken out of the way as all other, and cut off as the tops of the ears of corn*¹.

In other places, their destruction is not only spoken of generally, but even the precise mode of it is alluded to. As the chief of their host perished in the Red sea, that catastrophè is aptly touched upon, both singly and also connectedly with the overthrow of the wicked antediluvians by the agency of the boundless ocean.

*God divideth the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through the proud*². *Hast*

¹ Job xxiv. 17—20, 24.

² Job xxvi. 12.

thou marked the old way which wicked men have trodden? Which were cut down out of time, whose foundation was overflowed with the flood. Which said unto God, Depart from us: and what can the Almighty do for them? Yet, he filled their houses with good things: but the counsel of the wicked be far from me! The righteous see it, and are glad: and the innocent laugh them to scorn¹. The light of the wicked shall be put out, and the spark of his fire shall not shine. The steps of his strength shall be straitened, and his own counsel shall cast him down. For he is cast into a net by his own feet, and he walketh upon a snare. The snare is laid for him in the ground, and a trap for him in the way. Terrors shall make him afraid on every side, and shall drive him to his feet².

So again, we find the inspired writer alluding, in one continued strain, to the first division of the earth among the children of Noah before the ambition of the Cuthim disturbed that arrangement, to the violent irruptions of the Shepherds, to their resisting the divine behests as communicated by Moses, and to the ultimate subversion of their usurped authority even in the very plenitude of its strength.

I will shew thee; hear me: and that, which I have seen, I will declare; which wise men have told from their fathers, and have not hid it: unto whom alone the earth was given, and no stranger passed

¹ Job xxii. 15—19.

² Job xviii. 5—11.

among them. The wicked man travelleth with pain all his days : and the number of years is hidden from the oppressor. A dreadful sound is in his ears : in prosperity the destroyer shall come upon him. He wandereth abroad for bread, saying, Where is it? He knoweth, that the day of darkness is ready at his hand. Trouble and anguish shall make him afraid: they shall prevail against him, as a king ready to the battle. For he stretcheth out his hand against God, and strengtheneth himself against the Almighty. He runneth upon him, even upon his neck, upon the thick bosses of his buckler : because he covereth his face with his fatness, and maketh collops of fat on his flanks. He shall not be rich, neither shall his substance continue ; neither shall he prolong the perfection thereof upon the earth. It shall be accomplished before his time : and his branch shall not be green¹.

As the author thus alludes to the great outlines of the pastoral history, so he not unfrequently fills them up by a reference to subordinate particulars. In the following passage, he hints at the first expulsion of the Shepherds from Egypt, when they were driven into the south of Palestine and became notorious for their robberies ; an allusion introduced with the greater propriety, because, while outcasts in that country, they had plundered Job of his camels.

¹ Job xv. 17—32.

Now they, that are younger than I, have me in derision; whose fathers I would have disdained to set with the dogs of my flock¹. Yea, whereto might the strength of their hands profit me, in whom old age was perished? For want and famine they were solitary, fleeing into the wilderness in former times desolate and waste: who cut up mallows by the bushes, and juniper roots for their meat. They were driven out from among men; they cried after them as after a thief: to dwell in the clefts of the valleys, in caves of the earth, and in the rocks. Among the bushes they brayed: under the nettles they were gathered together. They were children of fools, yea children of base men: they were viler than the earth².

In another passage he alludes to the plague of darkness; one of those visitations, with which the obstinate Shepherds were afflicted in consequence of their refusing to liberate Israel.

He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprize. He taketh the wise in their own craftiness: and the counsel of the froward is carried headlong. They meet with darkness in the day-time, and grope in the noon-day as in the night. But he saveth the poor

¹ By the fathers of these men, we are of course to understand their ancestors, who were reduced to a very low condition by their being violently driven out of Egypt. Their expulsion took place about 94 years before the trials of Job.

² Job xxx. 1—8 They were the descendants of the apostate Cuthim, styled *fools* in scriptural phraseology, because they were apostates from the sincere worship of God.

*from the sword, from their mouth, and from the hand of the mighty. So the poor hath hope, and iniquity stoppeth her mouth*¹.

Lastly, we find him alluding, in evident mutual connection, to the unjust government of the Shepherds and to the sudden death of the first-born which took place at midnight.

*Shall even he, that hateth right, govern? And wilt thou condemn him, that is most just? Is it fit to say to a king, Thou art wicked: and to princes, Ye are ungodly? How much less to him, that accepteth not the persons of princes, nor regardeth the rich more than the poor: for they are all the work of his hands. In a moment shall they die, and the people shall be troubled at midnight and pass away: and the mighty shall be taken away without hand. For his eyes are upon the ways of man, and he seeth all his goings*².

(2.) As Moses had been honoured by most awful communications with God both in mount Horeb and on the summit of mount Sinai, it is natural to expect, on the supposition of his being the author of the book of Job, that he would very pointedly allude to them: for communications of that nature must ever, with the utmost vividness, have been present to his recollection.

Accordingly, the Supreme Being is introduced

¹ Job v. 12—16.

² Job xxxiv. 17—21. Compare Exod. xii. 29, 30.

into the poem after a manner which strongly implies that the writer himself had similarly conversed with him. As God spoke to Moses out of the midst of a burning bush on mount Horeb, and as he called to him out of the midst of thunders and lightnings and fire and a thick cloud on mount Sinai; so he is twice said to have answered Job out of the whirlwind¹.

(3.) It was on mount Sinai, that a written Law was for the first time delivered from God to man: and the person, through whom this Law was communicated, was Moses. To this peculiar circumstance then we may well expect him to allude in any composition of which he was the author; while, on the other hand, it is clear, that the Idumæan Job *could not* refer to an event, which had certainly not occurred at the epoch of his trials, and which (according to the numerical reading of the Hebrew) did not occur until after his death.

*Receive, I pray thee, the Law from his mouth; and lay up his words in thine heart*².

The original word, here employed to denote *the Law*, is *Torah*; which, as it is well known, was the word specially used by the Jews to designate *the Law of Moses*: and the Law, here spoken of, was not a national statute of mere human authority, nor yet such a moral law as

¹ Exod. iii. 1—5. xix. 6—20. Job xxxviii. 1. xl. 6.

² Job xxii. 22.

some have styled *the Law of nature*; but it was a *Law received immediately from the mouth of Jehovah*, to which description no law, save that delivered from the top of mount Sinai, will be found to answer. *The Rabbins* accordingly, as Bishop Warburton appositely remarks, *were so sensible of the expressive peculiarity of this phrase, that*, imagining Job himself to have been the author of the poem, *they say* THE LAW OF MOSES *is here spoken of by a kind of prophetic anticipation*¹.

(4.) As God delivered the Law from mount Sinai; so he was visibly, though mysteriously, present with the tabernacle in a pillar of fire and smoke. To this extraordinary manifestation, which daily presented itself to the eyes of Moses, we may well suppose that he would almost inevitably allude, if he were the author of the book of Job. Hence, agreeably to such an opinion, it is not unreasonable to believe, that that apparition was present to his mind, when he put the following passage into the mouth of his hero.

*Oh, that I were as in months past, as in the days when God preserved me; when his fiery lamp shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness: as I was in the days of my youth, when the secret of God was upon my tabernacle*².

(5.) In addition to these peculiarities we may

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 2. § II. 1. p. 311.

² Job xxix. 2—4.

obviously remark, that, whenever the subject of an author does not necessarily prevent him, he will be apt to allude to those particular studies, in which he delights and in which he has been early engaged.

Now we are told, that *Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians*¹: and, in what a considerable part at least of that wisdom consisted, we may gather not equivocally from the account which is given of the attainments of Solomon. We read, that *Solomon's wisdom*, like the wisdom of Moses, *excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country and all the wisdom of Egypt*²: and the nature of this wisdom is immediately afterward set forth to us, as being partly of a moral and partly of a physical description. Solomon, we find, was the author both of many grave and important ethical sentences and likewise of a copious treatise on natural philosophy. *He spake three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes*³. Such being the case, as the wisdom of Moses and the wisdom of Solomon are described in the very same terms, since each is celebrated for his surpassing acquaintance with the wisdom of Egypt: we may reasonably conclude, that

¹ Acts vii. 22.

² 1 Kings iv. 30.

³ 1 Kings iv. 32, 33.

the wisdom of Moses resembled in its nature the wisdom of Solomon; in other words, that it was a wisdom partly physical and partly ethical.

But the author of the book of Job must plainly have been a man very largely endowed with, and very greatly delighting in, this identical sort of wisdom or philosophy. No where, save in the Proverbs of Solomon, do we find such a store of sententious moral theology: and no where in the whole volume of Scripture, since the physical treatise of Solomon has perished, do we find such ample and studious excursions into the field of natural history. While the author provides us with numerous pithy apophthegms for the due regulation of our conduct; he copiously reads us lectures upon the creation, upon the physical economy of the world, upon the numerous productions of the earth, upon the influences of the constellations, upon birds and upon beasts, upon fishes and upon river-monsters. But this is precisely what we might expect from the learned adoptive son of Pharaoh's daughter, when his secular wisdom was corrected and sanctified by divine inspiration: and, even to omit all other points, the highly-wrought descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan evince an author, who had long dwelt in Egypt, and to whom the peculiarities of its natural history were quite familiar. The amphibious Behemoth is palpably, I think, the hippopotamus of upper Egypt and Ethiopia:

while the monster Leviathan, whose skin bids defiance to the fish-spears, whose teeth are terrible round about the doors of his face, whose scales closely joined together so that they cannot be sundered are his pride, who esteemeth iron as straw and brass as rotten wood, who mocks alike at the sword and the spear and the dart and the habergeon, and who maketh the Oceanes or Nileotic sea of Egypt to boil like a pot, can only be the matchless crocodile, that *king over all the children of pride*¹.

(6.) From an inspired author, thus instituted in all the science of the pagan world, that beautiful eulogy on real wisdom comes with a singular grace and propriety.

Where shall wisdom be found: and where is the place of understanding? Man knoweth not the price thereof: neither is it found in the land of the living. The depth saith, It is not in me: and the sea saith, It is not in me. It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof. It cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir, with the precious onyx, or the sapphire. The gold and the crystal cannot equal it: and the exchange of it shall not be for jewels of fine gold. No mention shall be made of coral or of pearls: for the

¹ Job xl. 15—24. xli. Diod. Bibl. lib. i. p. 12, 17. I am aware, that the Behemoth is mentioned as frequenting Jordan: but this does not invalidate the argument from the nationality of the Leviathan or crocodile.

*price of wisdom is above rubies*¹. *The topaz of Cush shall not equal it : neither shall it be valued with pure gold. Whence then cometh wisdom, and where is the place of understanding? Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living, and kept close from the fowls of the air. Destruction and death say, We have heard the fame thereof with our ears. God understandeth the way thereof; and he knoweth the place thereof. Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding*².

The writer's favourite study of natural philosophy is here employed to illustrate the infinite importance of that divine philosophy, which surpasses all price : and, as he winds up the matter by setting forth the Supreme Divinity as being at once its source and its object ; so, if I mistake

¹ Or, as some would ingeniously render the passage, *Wisdom draws more forcibly than loadstones* ; an allusion to magnetic influence strictly agreeable to the character of a profound natural philosopher. The word, which our translators have rendered *rubies*, denotes, according to its radical etymology, *turning stones* or *stones which possess the property of communicating [motion to another body]*. Though the Egyptians might be ignorant of the polarity of the magnetic needle, there is no reason why we should deem them ignorant of the attractive faculty of the magnet. I may observe, that the Hiphilized form of the word insinuates, not *self-motion* which might imply a knowledge of the magnetic needle's polarity, but *communication of motion* which implies only a knowledge of the magnet's attractiveness. See Parkhurst's Heb. Lex. vox פנה. § x.

² Job xxviii. 12—23, 28.

not, he artfully contrasts it with the spurious wisdom of the ancient pagan Mysteries. These celebrated rites, so well known to the Egyptian priesthood that some have even ascribed it to their origination, treated of mundane destructions and reproductions, conducted the aspirants to the very realms of Death or Hades, and professed to illuminate the initiated with all wisdom, which, at the same time, was studiously kept hidden from the profane ¹. Hence, in allusion to this systematic concealment, the author asks: *Whence then cometh WISDOM, and where is the place of UNDERSTANDING? It is HID from the eyes of all living, and KEPT CLOSE from the fowls of the air. DESTRUCTION and DEATH say, We have heard the fame thereof with our ears.* Such an allusion nobly conducts him to the final result of his whole argument. *GOD understandeth the way thereof; and he knoweth the place thereof.. Behold, THE FEAR OF THE LORD, that is WISDOM; and TO DEPART FROM EVIL is UNDERSTANDING* ².

¹ See my Origin of Pagan Idol. book v. chap. 6.

² Bishop Warburton makes a very just and a very acute remark on the general texture of the book of Job; which, though adduced in favour of his own hypothesis that Ezra was the author of it, tends with equal if not with superior force to establish my own full conviction that the poem ought to be ascribed to Moses.

A third circumstance, says his lordship, is the author's being drawn, by the vigour of his imagination, from the seat of action and from the manners of the scene, to one very different;

What I have now adduced are allusions, which Moses would naturally make, if he were the

especially if it be one of great fame and celebrity. So here, though the scene be the deserts of Arabia, among family-heads of independent tribes and in the simplicity of primitive manners; yet we are carried, by a poetic fancy, into the midst of EGYPT, the best policied and the most magnificent empire then existing in the world. Why died I not from the womb, says the chief speaker; for now I should have lien still and been quiet, I should have slept: then had I been at rest, with KINGS and COUNSELLORS of the earth, which build desolate places for themselves; that is, magnificent buildings in desolate places, meaning plainly the pyramids raised in the midst of barren sands for the burying places of the Kings of Egypt. Kings and counsellors of the earth was, by way of eminence, the designation of the Egyptian governors. But it may be observed in general that, although the scene confined the author to scattered tribes in the midst of deserts, yet his images and his ideas are, by an insensible allure, taken throughout from crowded cities and a civil policied people. Thus he speaks of the children of the wicked being crushed in the gate; alluding to a city taken by storm, and to the destruction of the flying inhabitants pressing one another to death in the narrow passage of the city-gates. Again, of the good man it is said, that he shall be hid from the scourge of tongues; that pestilent mischief, which rages chiefly in rich and licentious communities. But there would be no end of giving instances of this kind, where they are so numerous. Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 2. p. 311, 312.

Though it may be doubted whether the pyramids be alluded to by the expression of *desolate places*; because the pyramids, like the tower of Babel and the pagodas of Hindostan, seem rather to have been temples to the chief sepulchral hero-god than literal sepulchres of men: yet I agree with the bishop, that by *kings and counsellors* we are eminently to understand

author of the book of Job : as such therefore they may be fairly brought forward as *confirming* and *harmonizing with* such an hypothesis, though I am very far from wishing to rest *the proof* of it upon them. The vivid descriptions indeed of the hippopotamus and the crocodile seem plainly to indicate a person, who was familiar with the natural history of Egypt ; a circumstance, which at once excludes the Arabian emir Job and immediately directs our attention to the well educated lawgiver of the Hebrews : but still what alone I deem *the proof* would have been equally *the proof*, if not one supposed allusion had been produced. The book must have been written AFTER the delivery of the Law from mount Sinai ; because it contains an express reference to the punishment of idolatry by the civil magistrate : and it must have been written BEFORE the death of Moses ; because, unlike the more recent sacred books, it hints not even in the slightest

the Egyptian kings and counsellors. See Isaiah xix. 11. But what will follow from this allusion to Egypt ? Clearly the much higher probability, that Moses, who was familiar with *Egypt*, should have been the author ; than Ezra, who had been a captive at *Babylon*. At all events, [the frequent allusions to a well policed state, which will forcibly remind the classical reader of the general tone of the *Eneid*, sufficiently shew, that neither Job nor any other Arabian chieftain could have written the poem. It certainly must be ascribed to some one, who had been familiarly accustomed to a regular and powerful and well-ordered monarchy.

degree at any *subsequent* occurrence. Hence we are brought to the conclusion, that the time of its composition is limited to the forty years which elapsed between the delivery of the Law and the death of Moses. But no person occurs within that period save Moses himself, to whom, with even a moderate degree of probability, the poem can be ascribed. Therefore I conclude Moses to have been its author. As for the allusions, the reader may admit or reject them according to his humour.

SECTION III.

Respecting the object of the book of Job.

AN important question yet remains to be discussed : I mean the object with which the book of Job may be thought to have been composed.

I. On this point, the various opinions, which have been advanced, seem to me very far from being satisfactory.

1. It is easy to say with Grey, that the poem is a perpetual document of humility and patience to all good men in affliction. This may be cheaply *asserted*: but, if we study the train of reasoning which pervades the work, we shall find it very difficult to reconcile such an assertion with such a mode of argument.

Job is indeed a sufferer, and he finally enjoys great prosperity; two circumstances, which constitute the naked literal history of that good man: but, when we turn from the bare narrative to the drama itself, we find the speakers, for whatever reason, setting forth any thing rather than what Grey supposes to be the argument of the poem. He would have been right, if nothing more had come down to us than the two first chapters and the eight concluding verses of the last chapter, which comprehend the whole of what is properly the history: but, since the entire drama runs upon a totally different subject, nothing can be more contradictory and inconsistent than to imagine, that it was simply written as a perpetual document of humility and patience to all good men in affliction.

2. Nor is the opinion of Houbigant much more satisfactory, though founded upon, what the theory of Grey cannot claim to be, an attentive perusal of the drama itself.

This writer imagines, that it was composed for the purpose of shewing how a good man might be afflicted in this world without any imputation upon the divine justice, though in the early ages notoriously wicked men were struck by the hand of heaven beyond the ordinary course of nature.

But, if we turn to the drama, we find Job actually *censured* for so stiffly maintaining himself to *be* a good man; and *that* too, not only by his three unkind friends, but also by the irre-

proachable Elihu and even by God himself. Nor is this all: we additionally find him, at length giving up the matter, and fairly confessing that he is so vile as to abhor himself and to repent in dust and ashes.

3. As for the hypothesis of Garnet, that the poem is an ingenious allegory, in which the condition of Job shadows out the sufferings of the Jews during the Babylonian captivity, little need be said upon an opinion so palpably fanciful and gratuitous.

There is nothing in the whole train of reasoning, which in the slightest degree can be made to bear upon that part of the Jewish history. Job indeed is brought out of great affliction into great prosperity; and the Jews were brought out of captivity into the land of their ancestors: so far therefore we may discover a similitude between the two cases. But the whole similitude begins and ends with the historical part of the book: the moment we turn to the drama, we are encountered by a succession of arguments, than which nothing can well be more foreign to the captivity of the Jews in Babylon.

4. Neither yet can I find any sufficient warrant for adopting the hypothesis of Bishop Sherlock, that the book was composed in opposition to the old Magian doctrine of two independent principles.

It is obvious, that the mere introduction of Satan, at the commencement of the poem, is not

enough to establish any such system as that of the bishop : and, as there is nothing in the general texture of the work which might naturally induce a belief that this is its object, so his lordship brings nothing forward which may fairly be deemed an attempt to prove his point, save the insulated circumstance that God is said to have *formed the crooked serpent*¹. Now, though I believe with the Seventy that Satan or the apostate dragon is intended by this expression, it may yet be well suspected, that *a single insulated declaration* can scarcely suffice to establish the object of *a long poem*. Had the drift of the work been to oppose the doctrine of an independent and uncreated principle of evil, we should surely have found, interwoven throughout with its whole contexture, a regular train of consistent and well-sustained argument against the dogma in question. But to seek for any thing of this description were altogether lost labour. Nothing occurs, save a naked and detached assertion, that God *formed the crooked serpent* : and such an assertion might just as well occur in any other sacred poem on any other theological subject. Nay, even if we grant that in this *particular* place (as is undoubtedly the case with a remarkable passage in Isaiah²) the author alluded to the Magian doctrine of two independent principles ; our concession will by no means pledge us to maintain,

¹ Job xxvi, 13.

² Isaiah xlv. 7.

that the confutation of that doctrine was the special object of the *entire* work. But, I think, it may be reasonably doubted, whether any such concession ought to be made even in regard to the *particular* place itself. If we may judge from the general context of the passage, the Magian doctrine could not *at all* have been present to the mind of its author: for he is merely enumerating various instances of God's almighty power; and among these instances, he very appositely adduces the fact, that he even *formed the crooked serpent* himself¹. Thus defective, so far as I can judge, is the proof set up by Bishop Sherlock².

5. The theory of Bishop Warburton, wonderfully ingenious as it is, can scarcely, if subjected to a strict examination, be esteemed more solid.

His lordship imagines, that the poem was written by Ezra for the comfort of the Israelites, when they found the extraordinary providence of the Theocracy withdrawn from them, and when in consequence they observed the frequent prosperity of the wicked and the frequent depression of the pious.

Such an opinion seems to me alike inconsistent with the bishop's own acknowledgments and with the internal structure of the poem itself.

(1.) According to his lordship, Job's three

¹ Job xxvi. 5—14.

² Sherlock's Dissert. ii. p. 243—247.

friends, who enigmatically represent Sanballat and Tobiah and Geshem, argue, upon the ancient principles of the Theocracy, that severe temporal afflictions are an undoubted proof of guilt: while the patriarch, on the contrary, who personifies the Jewish nation, strenuously denies their conclusion, and maintains himself to be innocent though troubled and afflicted. How then is the dispute to be settled, so as to vindicate God's justice to man, without calling in the aid of a future state? For, if the bad be prosperous, and if the good be afflicted in *this* world; while no *other* world is to be expected in which all such irregularities may be rectified: no choice is left to us, save either Atheism or Epicureanism. Now the bishop's theory leaves this important question wholly unsettled; when yet, even by his own acknowledgment, it might in the days of Ezra have been settled with the utmost facility. He contends, that the book of Job is wholly silent respecting a future retributory state. Hence, when Elihu comes to act as the moderator of the dispute, and when God at length finally shuts it up; the question in debate is simply resolved into God's sovereign will and pleasure and wisdom and power.

Such, if we may believe Bishop Warburton, is the drift of this celebrated poem. But here, even to say nothing of chronological difficulties, two very natural objections immediately present themselves.

The first is, that an inspired poem, written purposely to *resolve* a most important question which greatly staggered and distressed the Jews upon their return from Babylon, does in fact leave the question quite *unresolved*. For the Jews, being in much perplexity on account of the cessation of an equal providence, and being still ignorant of a future state as the bishop in this stage of his argument contends, instead of being presented with the *true* solution of the difficulty, namely *the doctrine of a future retributory state*, are simply taught, that the wicked are prosperous, and that the good are afflicted, *here*, BECAUSE it is God's good pleasure that it should be so. Now, what comfort, or what edification, the perplexed Jews could derive from such a mode of settling the matter, I am unable to comprehend. After much preparation and much discussion, the author leaves the matter just where he found it. *I acknowledge, that we are no longer under an equal providence : I confess, that the wicked are often much more prosperous than the good. But why should this stagger your faith? Be comforted and be happy under your troubles. For know, that the whole is of God's sovereign will and good pleasure.* This, according to Bishop Warburton, is the entire argument and drift of the book of Job.

Here then comes in the second objection. However his lordship, when it happens to suit his present purpose, may assert that the Jews, in the time of Ezra, were ignorant of *a future*

state : we perpetually find him, if pressed with refractory passages from the prophetic writings, entirely changing his tone, and declaring that no text brought from a composition *subsequent* to the time of David can be allowed to invalidate his grand position, because *after* that era the doctrine *was gradually opened by the prophets to the people*¹. If then the doctrine was *confessedly* taught in the prophetic writings, and if from them the knowledge of it was *confessedly* opened to the people at large ; Ezra, we may be sure, could not have been ignorant of it. But, if both he and the people *knew* it, he would certainly never have conducted the argument in the book of Job after the manner supposed by the bishop. According to his lordship, the difficulty under discussion is, *why the wicked are often prosperous and the good often afflicted in this world* : and the solution offered by Ezra is, that *God chooses it should be so*. Now who can refrain from seeing with half a glance, that, if Ezra were the author of the poem and if its subject were the above mentioned difficulty, he must assuredly have given a totally different solution ; namely, *a future retributory state when all present irregularities would be set right*. For the bishop himself confesses, that that doctrine was known to the Jews subsequent to the time of David, having been gradu-

¹ Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 1. p. 296. sect. 5. p. 1.

ally opened by the prophets to the people. Yet it must be confessed, that, in the oration of God, where doubtless on the bishop's plan of exposition we ought to seek the doctrine of *a future state*, nothing of the sort occurs. Hence, on his own acknowledgment that *the doctrine was known to the Jews in the time of Ezra*, I conclude, that the drift of the poem cannot be what he has supposed it to be: because, if it were, this well known doctrine must have occurred where the whole plan of the poem required it to occur, namely in the concluding oration which the author puts into the mouth of God.

(2.) The bishop's opinion however is not only inconsistent with his own acknowledgments, but likewise with the internal structure of the poem itself.

He tells us, that the whole dispute between Job and his friends relates to the cessation of that equal or extraordinary providence, which had characterized the Hebrew Theocracy down to the time of the Babylonian captivity: that the matter agitated in this dispute is, *whether temporal prosperity and temporal adversity be, or be not, the infallible signs of a man's piety or impiety*: that Job, maintaining *the negative*, argues throughout, that wicked men often enjoy great prosperity and that good men are often afflicted from the very beginning to the very end of their lives: and that his friends, maintaining *the affirmative*, argue through-

out, that wicked men never enjoy such permanent prosperity and that good men are never harassed with such permanent affliction.

This, according to the bishop, is the constant tenor of the arguments, which are severally advanced by the disputants : but, in making the assertion, his lordship is by no means accurate.

The disputants, in fact, so far from keeping to what the bishop deems their respective points, occasionally change sides ; and thence argue, as they *could not* have argued, if the theory which he advocates had been well founded.

Thus, even at the very beginning of the dispute, Eliphaz, who ought to have maintained *the affirmative* of the question, takes up *the negative* : for he uses language wholly inconsistent in the mouth of one, who (if we may credit the bishop) was zealously vindicating the alleged fact of an equal providence. *Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth : therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty*¹. Now the expression of this sentiment would have been perfectly in point on the part of Job : but, on the part of Eliphaz, it is neither more nor less than a complete giving up of the matter, which (according to Bishop Warburton) he had undertaken to defend. For the supposed litigated question is, *whether severe affliction, like that of Job, be not a proof that the afflicted person is a wicked man* : and

¹ Job v. 17.

this question Eliphaz is thought to maintain in *the affirmative*. Yet does he at once allow, in plain contradiction to his imagined purpose of *demonstrating a man's wickedness from the fact of his affliction*, that HAPPY is the man whom God correcteth, and that the benevolent chastening of the Almighty ought not to be despised by the good: when all the while he stood pledged to maintain, that no good man *could* be thus afflicted, simply because he *was* a good man.

As Eliphaz slides from *the affirmative* into *the negative*, so does Job slide from *the negative* into *the affirmative*; the supposed disputants upon the question of *an equal providence* thus completely changing sides. The friends of Job are thought by the bishop to maintain, that *a bad man, AS a bad man, cannot be prosperous*. Now Job, instead of controverting this position, which he stood pledged to do as arguing on the side of an unequal providence, fairly acknowledges the truth of it. *The wicked*, says he in more than a single place, *may seem to prosper for a season: but the vengeance of God is sure at length to overtake them; and then they are cast down from the height of prosperity to the depth of trouble and adversity*¹. Does this however always take place under an unequal providence: or would any person thus argue, who was maintaining the position, which the bishop supposes Job to maintain? Assuredly

¹ Job xxi. xxiv. xxvii. 13—23.

not : we know full well, that, under an unequal providence, many wicked and irreligious men enjoy *uninterrupted* prosperity, and go down to the grave without *ever* experiencing the least reverse; while, on the contrary, many good and pious men are subjected *all* their days to great temporal affliction, and die at length after having encountered through their whole life an unbroken succession of disheartening troubles. Hence no person, who was professedly maintaining the point which the bishop supposes Job to maintain, would ever think of solving the difficulty by saying, that, *although the good may for a time be afflicted and although the bad may for a time be prosperous, yet, if we have but a little patience, we shall be sure even in THIS world to see their conditions exactly reversed.* However a man might loosely express himself *in common conversation*, he would never venture to *argue* gravely in such a manner as this : for it is plain, that *an argument* of this description can only rest upon the identical basis which Bishop Warburton supposes Job to be controverting ; namely *the existence of an equal providence, under which the good are always rewarded and the bad always punished in THIS PRESENT world.* Job therefore maintains the very position, which, (according to the bishop) he ought to deny : and Eliphaz, by way of being even with him, denies the very position, which (according to the bishop) he ought to maintain.

Nor is the winding up of the plot less irreconcilable with his lordship's theory, than the conducting of the argument. If Ezra were the author of the poem, and if his object in writing it were to satisfy the Jews respecting the cessation of the theocratic equal providence; however he might fail in attaining his object (and, according to the bishop's system, he does *completely* fail), he would at all events have been *consistent* in the final development of the story. But, supposing such to have been his object; we find him perfectly *inconsistent*. To exemplify the cessation of an equal providence, the righteous Job ought to have been exhibited as living and dying under an unbroken cloud of affliction: but so far is this from being the case, that we see him finally rewarded for his piety in *this* world, which is the identical sanction of the ancient Hebrew Theocracy. Thus it is evident, that the poem, even by its very construction, if it have any relation at all to the Hebrew Theocracy, instead of exemplifying and accounting for *the cessation* of an equal providence, does in truth exemplify and is wholly built upon its *continuance*.

On these grounds I infer, that Bishop Warburton must have mistaken the very drift of the work itself; and that the point litigated between Job and his friends cannot possibly be, *whether temporal prosperity and temporal adversity be, or be not, the infallible signs of a man's piety or impiety*. But,

if such cannot be the subject of the poem, the whole theory of *its being the composition of Ezra for the instruction of the Jews then no longer governed by an equal providence* falls at once to the ground.

II. We may now with advantage proceed to inquire into the true object of this extraordinary work : and in such an inquiry we shall be much assisted by recollecting, what I hope has been established on sufficient moral evidence, that the author of it was Moses.

1. The grand drift of all the three Dispensations is the same, though the Mystery of God may be developed in each with different degrees of clearness. Now that drift, as we have seen, is *to inculcate the doctrine of reconciliation with God through the agency of a predicted Mediator* : a doctrine, which (as Bishop Warburton himself allows) involves of necessity the doctrine of *a future state*. The great outlines of these important doctrines were known, as we are taught by the highest authority, under the Patriarchal Dispensation : and, since the knowledge of the fathers must have descended to the children, the contemporaries of Moses under the Levitical Dispensation could not have been ignorant of what was confessedly familiar to their not remote ancestors Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.

Yet, though such doctrines had come down to the Israelites from their forefathers in the way of *oral* instruction, it was highly expedient,

when a *written* Law was delivered, that Moses should bear his testimony to them in *writing*. But this, except in scattered hints, he could not properly do in the Pentateuch: because the very nature of such a composition effectually prevented him. Nothing therefore remained but to produce a distinct work expressly on the subject: in which he might not only set forth the two connected doctrines in question, but might likewise state with precision the very ground on which those two doctrines eventually rest. Now the ground, on which they finally rest, is *the sinfulness of man and the impossibility of his being able to justify himself before God*. For a conviction of such impossibility teaches man his need of an atoning Mediator, through whom alone he can be reconciled to an all-just Divinity: and a reconciliation to the Divinity involves a repeal of the sentence pronounced upon Adam; or, in other words, a recovery of his lost claim to a life of eternal happiness.

Such then, if I mistake not, is the subject of the book of Job. After the manner of the East which delights in the parable or apologue, Moses takes a real character and a real history as the vehicle of his theological discussion: and, without departing from facts which truly happened, he delivers his instruction with far greater life and spirit than he could have done had he adopted a mere scholastic or didactic form of writing. Nothing could be more judiciously

selected for his purpose than both the character and the history.

(1.) The character was that of a strictly upright and moral man; of one who had not his equal upon earth, of one who feared God and eschewed evil¹.

A character of this description was above all others the fittest to employ in personating a man; who with apparent good reason should build upon his own integrity, who thus either wholly or partially should strike at the revealed doctrine of *justification and pardon through the atoning Mediator*, and who thence by a necessary consequence might be led to a denial that man stood in any need of reconciliation through the promised Seed of the woman. For, if *such* a character were at length forced to confess his utter vileness and sinfulness in the presence of God, vain-glorious boasting on the part of all *others* would be effectually excluded: and the doctrine of *man's radical corruption*, as the true basis on which to build the doctrines of *reconciliation* and *eternal life*, would be effectually established.

Hence the whole argument, between Job and his friends, is made to turn upon the hinge; WHETHER A MAN'S OWN RIGHTEOUSNESS COULD, OR COULD NOT, JUSTIFY HIM BEFORE GOD.

Job maintains *the affirmative* of the question,

¹ Job i. 1, 8.

in a temper not much unlike that of St. Paul before his conversion, with real though mistaken sincerity: on *this* account therefore he is praised at the close of the drama, notwithstanding he is convicted of error and censured by God himself as a person that *darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge*¹.

His friends maintain the *negative* of the question, but in an acrimonious spirit of personal reproach and without the least attempt to point out to him the only true mode of obtaining justification: on both these accounts they are censured as not having spoken of God the thing that is right; and Job, who had confessed the Redeemer even in the midst of his boast of integrity, is directed to pray for them, while they themselves are enjoined to offer up a piacular sacrifice as a practical acknowledgment of their culpable omission².

Nor was the gentile origin of Job overlooked, in the selection of him by Moses as the hero of his drama. On the contrary, the Hebrew law-giver studiously availed himself of the circumstance, as peculiarly falling in with his design. The exclusiveness of the Levitical Dispensation might easily, as in fact it did, engender a spirit of uncharitable religious pride, which caused the Israelites to deem themselves the special fa-

¹ Compare Job xlii. 7. with xxxviii. 2. xl. 2—8. xlii. 1—6.

² Job xlii. 7, 8.

vourites of heaven, while they looked down upon the Gentiles as an impure and polluted race of outcasts. Moses therefore, with admirable wisdom, chooses for his hero one who belonged not to the commonwealth of Israel : and thus teaches the people over whom he was appointed to preside, not only that all mankind had an equal interest with themselves in the promised Redeemer, but likewise that justification could no more be had by the moral than by the ceremonial Law.

(2.) Alike apposite for his purpose was the literal history of Job : nothing could more fitly serve as the substratum of an oriental apologue or parable.

On the one hand, the afflictions of that holy patriarch exhibited the conflict, which the pious must needs endure in their passage through this world : while, on the other hand, his final recompence shadowed out that abundant reward, which will eventually crown the efforts of the pious ; of those, who, through sanctified affliction, are induced to look from their own imaginary meritoriousness to that of the promised Angel-Redeemer who alone can find a ransom and who alone can deliver them from going down to the pit.

Meanwhile, in thus availing himself of the literal history, Moses had an opportunity of drawing aside the curtain which hides the invisible from the visible world. In the Penta-

teuch, he simply mentions, that the fall of man was effected through *the agency* of the serpent: in the book of Job, he makes the Israelites acquainted with *the character* of that malignant being, who employed the serpent as his vehicle and instrument. The prologue of the drama unreservedly sets forth Satan as the tempter to apostasy from God: the body of the drama mentions him, as the crooked or rather as the apostate serpent; who, notwithstanding his vast power, was still a mere creature formed by the hand of the Omnipotent¹.

¹ Job xxvi. 13. The Seventy, as Bishop Warburton well remarks, understood the writer of the poem to mean neither more nor less than the devil by the periphrasis of *the crooked serpent*: for they translate the original *δρακοντα αποστατην* or *the apostate dragon*. With the bishop I think, that we cannot doubt of their having justly expressed the sense of the author. *The crooked serpent* must denote, either a literal snake, or the astronomical dragon of the sphere, or the serpent which Satan employed as his vehicle. If we suppose the first, we produce out of this admirable poet a complete specimen of the *bathos*: for we make him say, that *God not only garnished the wide expanse of the material heavens, but that he likewise was the creator of snakes*. If we suppose the second, we both make him use the strange amplification; *God made all the constellations, and he also made one of them*: and we likewise ascribe to the ancient Jews such a sphere as they could not possibly have had; for, agreeably to the second commandment, all paintings and images were an abomination to them, whence (as they themselves assure us) they did not represent the stars or the constellations by the name or figure of any animal whatsoever, but distinguished them by

2. These matters being premised, let us attend to the drama itself: and thence let us see, whether it does not sufficiently explain its own purpose and object.

In prosecuting the inquiry, it may be useful, first to give briefly what I deem the argument of the poem, and afterward to draw out a somewhat longer analysis of the whole composition as a proof that the argument is rightly given.

(1.) The highly moral Job, who is made to personate a man fully satisfied with his own goodness, strenuously maintains that he is righteous even in the presence of God.

His friends argue, that, if this were indeed the case, he could not be in trouble: because death and misery and affliction of every sort, having been brought into the world by sin, are themselves a standing proof that man is a sinner.

Job acknowledges, that the good are afflicted as well as the bad: but still he refuses to give up his original opinion, though he is content occasionally to modify it.

His friends continue to press their argument with much acrimonious vehemence: but, instead of taking the right mode of reclaiming Job from his erroneous sentiments, they only irritate his mind by uncharitable personalities.

At length, weary of the contest, he professes the letters of their alphabet artificially combined. It only remains therefore, that we suppose the third. See Div. Leg. book vi. sect. 2. p. 358—362.

his full hope and expectation, that the promised Redeemer would hereafter be manifested, and that through him he should attain to the resurrection of the dead : but still, with an inconsistency to which human nature is but too subject, while he professes his belief in the predicted Deliverer, he refuses to give up his claim to the meritorious dignity of a strict and undeviating righteousness.

After some further altercation, which produces no conviction on either side, Elihu is introduced by way of sustaining the part of a moderator. As the three friends of Job personate ill-taught and injudicious theological advisers : so, unless I am greatly mistaken, Elihu personates the Hebrew lawgiver himself : who through him sets forth the fundamental doctrine of all the three Dispensations ; namely, *the sinfulness of man and his consequent need of an Angel-Redeemer to reconcile him to his offended God*. I am led to this opinion, not only because Elihu is evidently represented as setting forth what the inspired author determines to be the truth, as contradistinguished from the partial and erroneous views both of Job and of his friends ; whence, at the close of the drama, no censure whatever is passed upon Elihu, though Job is made to confess his sinfulness, and though God severely reproves his three friends : but likewise because he speaks of himself in the very same remarkable language, which in the Pentateuch

the Lord applies to Moses. *Thou shalt be to Aaron instead of God, and I have made thee a God to Pharaoh*, says Jehovah to the legislator of the Israelites: *Behold, I am according to thy wish in God's stead*, says Elihu to Job respecting himself¹. But, however this may be, Elihu, in his capacity of a moderator, certainly propounds the grand doctrine of *man's sinfulness and of the Redeemer's atonement*: yet Job, by his silence, shews that he still remains unconvinced. What more then could be done? According to the precise rule of the Roman poet, God himself is now introduced: and, by a lofty descant on his own perfections and man's imbecility, he at length effects what neither the three friends nor Elihu could effect, a full conviction on the part of Job that he was indeed a vile and sinful creature².

(2.) This I take to be the argument of the drama; which, being of a parabolical nature, is no further connected with the literal history of Job, than as that history is employed by way of a vehicle for the most important instruction that could be conveyed to fallen man. Here then we have a theme, indeed worthy of the great Hebrew lawgiver; a theme too, which will account for the little anxiety that he shews to enter into any doctrinal discussion in his legal

¹ Exod. iv. 16. vii. 1. Job xxxiii. 6.

² Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus.

and historical works. *There* such discussion were clearly out of place: nor were it more out of place, than it were superfluous; for, since an entire work is devoted to it, we must undoubtedly look to *that* work for information, and not to those other works which were devoted to totally different purposes. But it is time, that we now proceed to verify the argument by an analysis of the whole composition.

The drama commences with a speech of Job, in which he bewails the calamities that had fallen upon him. This has no direct connection with the proper subject of the poem: but decorum required its introduction; because, otherwise the historical character of the literal Job would not have been preserved. The same remark applies to those various allusions of a similar description, which elsewhere occur throughout the work. Had they not been employed, the verisimilitude and concinnity of the whole composition must have been destroyed¹.

But the answer of Eliphaz, though he too refers to the case of the literal Job, immediately sets forth, on the professed authority of inspiration, the doctrine which is afterwards discussed throughout the entire poem. *In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. Then a spirit passed before*

¹ Job iii.

my face ; the hair of my flesh stood up : it stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof : an image was before mine eyes : there was silence, and I heard a voice. SHALL MORTAL MAN BE JUST RATHER THAN GOD ? SHALL MAN BE PURE RATHER THAN HIS MAKER ? BEHOLD, HE PUTTETH NO TRUST IN HIS SERVANTS ; AND HIS ANGELS HE CHARGETH WITH FOLLY : HOW MUCH LESS IN THEM THAT DWELL IN HOUSES OF CLAY, WHOSE FOUNDATION IS IN THE DUST, WHICH ARE CRUSHED BEFORE THE MOTH¹.

To this doctrine, Job, agreeably to the character which he is made to personate, is by no means inclined to subscribe. On the contrary, he plainly tells his friends that he is not convinced. *Teach me, and I will hold my tongue : and cause me to understand wherein I have erred. How forcible are right words ! But what doth your arguing reprove ? Return, I pray you ; let there be no iniquity : yea return again, my righteousness is in it. Is there iniquity in my tongue ? Cannot my taste discern perverse things ?* Sin indeed to a certain extent he is constrained to acknowledge : but he thinks it strange, that so righteous a man as himself should have been set up as a mark to God's arrows².

Bildad now takes up the argument ; and contends, that, if Job were indeed pure, he would not be afflicted : for, since God is a righteous

¹ Job iv. 13—19.² Job vi. vii.

God, the very circumstance of human misery proves the existence of human guilt¹.

In reply, Job confesses that he is not absolutely and perfectly free from sin; for to such a state no man living can pretend. But, in saying this, he says nothing more than what even the most self-sufficient moralist is ready to say: and, how very little in his personated character he feels the strength of his own words, is evident from the proud appeal, which immediately afterward he dares to make even to God himself; *Thou knowest, that I am not wicked*².

It next falls to the turn of Zophar to speak: and, agreeably to the doctrine which all the three friends have pledged themselves to maintain, he vehemently reproves Job for the arrogant sentiments which he has ventured to express. *Should thy lies make men hold their peace? And, when thou mockest, shall no man make thee ashamed? For thou hast said, My doctrine is pure, and I am clean in thine eyes. But O that God would speak, and open his lips against thee! Know therefore, that God exacteth of thee less than thine iniquity*³.

¹ Job viii. Exactly similar to this is the argument of St. Paul. *As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.* Rom. v. 12. The existence of death proves the existence of sin in the subjects of death: because, otherwise, God would not be a God of justice.

² Job ix. x.

³ Job xi.

Job, though considerably irritated, still adheres firmly to his original position, and speaks as one perfectly satisfied with his own goodness. *I am as one mocked of his neighbour: the just upright man is laughed to scorn: surely I would speak to the Almighty, and I desire to reason with God. But ye are forgers of lyes, ye are all physicians of no value. O that ye would altogether hold your peace! and it should be your wisdom. Lo, he may slay me, I will not wait: surely I will maintain my ways before his very face.* He then somewhat impatiently expresses his wish for death; on the ground of his being assured that God will yet have his eye upon him, while he remains a prisoner in the intermediate state of Sheol or Hades¹.

Eliphaz now again resumes the debate: and, as he had already described himself to have been taught by a divine vision, he is with strict propriety made to do little more than repeat the oracle. **WHAT IS MAN, THAT HE SHOULD BE CLEAN: AND HE WHICH IS BORN OF A WOMAN, THAT HE SHOULD BE RIGHTEOUS? BEHOLD, HE PUTTETH NO TRUST IN HIS SAINTS; YEA, THE HEAVENS² ARE NOT CLEAN IN HIS SIGHT. HOW MUCH MORE ABOMINABLE AND FILTHY IS MAN, WHICH DRINKETH INIQUITY LIKE WATER³:**

Job however, wholly unconvinced, perseveres in maintaining his integrity, while he bewails

¹ Job xii. xiii. xiv. See above book ii. chap. 3. sect. 2. § II.

1. (2.)

² Job xv. 14—16.

his hard and unmerited fate. *I have heard many such things: miserable comforters are ye all. My face is foul with weeping; and on my eye-lids is the shadow of death; not for any injustice in mine hands: also my prayer is pure*¹.

In answer to this, Bildad reproves Job for his impatience, and urges the calamities of the wicked as an evidence of their sinfulness before God².

Job, thus goaded by the injudicious treatment of his friends, who maintain indeed the truth, but who maintain it in an unwise and unkind manner, after complaining of their cruelty and describing his own misery, reposes himself on the hope of a future resurrection from the dead through the agency of the promised Redeemer.

We now come to the celebrated text, which, after all that Bishop Warburton has written on the subject, I deem myself fully warranted in pronouncing to be the testimony of Moses relative to the most important topic that can be discussed by fallen man.

As the author of the Pentateuch, the great lawgiver of the Hebrews was commissioned to record all those promises of a future Saviour, which were made to the Patriarchal Church. The earliest of these is the prophecy, that the Seed of the woman should bruise the head of

¹ Job xvi. xvii.

² Job xviii.

the serpent, though the serpent should bruise his heel or mortal part. What being was expected in consequence of such a promise, and what benefits were supposed to result from his manifestation, we have already seen very much at large¹. From the remotest period it was believed, that Jehovah himself would become incarnate; and that, through a mysterious self-devotement shadowed out by the rite of sacrifice, he would reconcile man to God, and thus open to him the prospect of a resurrection to eternal life.

Now, when the question is viewed under this aspect, we may naturally conclude, that Moses, while professedly writing a drama on the subject of man's justification before God, could not fail to introduce the doctrine of *a future state* and of *a promised Redeemer*. The poem, in fact, would be precisely as incomplete without it, as the defective reasonings of Job's three friends: for it were of little use to convince mankind, that even their very best deeds could not justify them in the presence of their Creator, unless a more effectual mode of justification and reconciliation were at the same time declared. In the Pentateuch then, Moses records the prophecy respecting the Seed of the woman, and gives without any explanation the remarkable words of Eve on the birth of Cain. This he did

¹ See above book i. chap. 4, 5, 6.

as an historian : but, since, at the period when the oracles of God were committed to writing, both the prophecy and the words of Eve might justly demand an inspired authoritative comment ; such a comment was delivered in the argumentative drama before us, and was aptly placed in the mouth of Job to teach the nascent Levitical Church what had previously been the uninterrupted doctrine of the ancient Patriarchal Church.

What I suppose to be this inspired comment of Moses himself, upon the prophecy and the exclamation nakedly recorded in his history, is the famous passage relative to that living Saviour, whom Job is described as acknowledging with so much devout solemnity. In our common version however, as the English reader may perceive, by the numerous words, which are printed in *Italics*, and which are owned therefore not to exist in the original Hebrew : in our common version, the passage, though its *general* scope be accurately enough expressed, is rendered much more loosely than can well be tolerated. Such being the case, let us see, whether a translation more scrupulously literal and therefore not liable to the same objections, cannot be produced. Taking then for the basis of my own version that proposed by Parkhurst, I would render the entire passage in the following manner.

I KNOW, THAT MY REDEEMER IS THE LIVING ONE, AND THAT HEREAFTER HE SHALL RISE UP

OVER THE DUST. AND HEREAFTER MY SKIN SHALL ENCOMPASS THIS : AND FROM MY FLESH I SHALL SEE GOD. AND MY EYES SHALL BEHOLD HIM AND NOT A STRANGER : MY REINS ARE CONSUMED WITHIN ME.

As Eve, in her exclamation, *I have gotten the man even Jehovah his very self*, acknowledged her promised Seed to be no other than the Angel or Word of the Lord ; so Moses here confirms her opinion of his nature, by declaring him to be very God : and, as Moses, confessing the Redeemer to be very God, consistently pronounces him to be *the Living One* or the essential fountain of vitality ; so Christ, in the Apocalypse, similarly claims to be *the Living One*, and, in the Gospel, assumes to himself the high titles of *the Resurrection* and *the Life*¹. The Redeemer (what additionally proves the book of Job to have been written by an Israelite subsequent to the promulgation of the Law from mount Sinai) is set forth in his quality of a *Redeemer* by a technical legal term, which involves the idea of a *near kinsman* : for to a *near kinsman* was committed under the Law the right of *redemption*². This statute typically shadowed out *our* near relationship to the promised Saviour : for, as our kinsman-redeemer, *he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham ; wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made*

¹ Rev. i. 18. Gr. ὁ ζων. John xi. 25. Gr. ἡ ζωη.

² See Levit. xxv. 24—34.

*like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful high-priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people*¹. The passage then in the poem relates, so far as its phraseology is concerned, to the statute in the Law: Job therefore professes his belief in one, who should be the living God, whom his eyes should hereafter behold in a visible form, and who as his near kinsman according to the flesh should legally act as his Redeemer. Hence, still with the same reference to the shadowy ceremonial Law, he declares, that, in beholding this kinsman-redeemer, he should not behold a stranger or foreigner; but that he should look upon one, who was bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. In thus professing his belief, he is likewise, in apt allusion to the literal history, made to profess his full assurance, that, miserably lacerated as his body might now be, yet hereafter, pointing to his excoriated frame, the renovated cuticles of his skin should encompass *this*, and that from his own flesh he should see his incarnate God: *that* God whose advent was too hastily expected by Eve at the nativity of her first-born. His reins now indeed might be consumed within him: but this did not diminish his full confidence in the promise made to the woman.

The doctrine of *the resurrection of the body*,

¹ Heb. ii. 16, 17.

thus taught by the great legislator of Israel, tallies with and explains his account of the translation of Enoch. If that patriarch were translated to heaven, both soul and body; it were reasonable to argue from such an event, not only a future state, but a resurrection of the corporeal frame itself. Here, accordingly, in its proper place, with whatever scantiness the doctrine might be taught in the Pentateuch, Moses says enough on the subject for the information and consolation of each more spiritual believer.

Perhaps it may be objected, that, according to the tenor of the argument as severally conducted by Job and his three friends, the confession of a Redeemer ought to have been put in *their* mouth rather than in *his*: because *their* reasoning directly tends to establish the necessity of a Redeemer, while *his* reasoning would go to prove that man requires not any extrinsic aid to justify him in the presence of God.

To this I reply, that however inconsistent it may be, nothing is more common than to unite a high notion of human merit with a full belief in a Redeemer: so common indeed is it, that such a paralogism constitutes the very basis of the entire Romish creed. We are to recollect, that the argument of the poem is the confutation and conviction of a self-righteous moralist, who is aptly personated by the strictly upright Job. In the prosecution of this design, the hero is made to contest every inch of his ground. First,

he roundly maintains his own meritorious integrity, though he is sometimes compelled a little to qualify the strength of his language. Next, he confesses his belief in a Redeemer who should cause his body to rise again from the dead; though he still refuses to give up the fond persuasion of his own unsullied integrity. And at length he fully acknowledges his vileness; though his prejudice is so obstinate, that it yields to nothing save to the immediate teaching of God himself. It is in the second of these mental states that he is exhibited, when he utters the memorable words which we have been considering: and, accordingly, we find him in immediate consecution telling his friends, that they ought to say; *Why persecute we him, seeing the root of the matter is found in him?* The import of such a monition is perfectly obvious: nor can any thing be more exactly in character. *Since I believe in a Redeemer as much as you can do, and since I expect a resurrection from the dead through his agency; why need you persecute me with this wearisome dispute respecting man's entire sinfulness?* The root of the matter is found in me, because I hold the grand tenet of the Patriarchal Church: what signifies it then, if I happen to differ from you as to the extent of human corruption?

Job therefore is now brought to confess a Redeemer and a future state through him, while yet he clings to the notion of his own merito-

rious dignity. Hence his friends continue to argue as before against the error which he *still* maintains, without adverting to the *fully acknowledged* doctrine of a Saviour; which, as they had injudiciously omitted to touch upon it *before*, would *now* of course be quite beside the mark of their reasoning¹.

On this principle, Zophar to whose turn the conducting of the debate now falls, urges, that the triumphing of the wicked is but short-lived. He may for a time appear to be successful: but, ever *since man was placed upon the earth*, iniquity sooner or later is sure to be followed by condign punishment².

In reply, Job admits the truth of his remark; but contends, that it is wholly irrelevant to *his own* case: because, as he throughout maintains, *he himself* was a strictly holy man. *How then comfort ye me in vain, seeing in your answers there remaineth falsehood or inconclusive reasoning*³?

Eliphaz now, losing his temper at the obstinacy of Job, quits the broad ground of man's inherent corruption; and breaks forth into personal abuse, alike false and indecorous. Though Job, like all the children of Adam, laboured under a taint of original depravity which rendered it impossible for him to be just before God; still he had led a very moral and creditable life, and had never been guilty of those

¹ Job xix.² Job xx.³ Job xxi.

enormities which the angry controversialist so rashly and offensively lays to his charge. But this, in the heat of dispute, Eliphaz wholly forgets or overlooks : and, as he had failed to convince Job by alleging what was true, he now strangely attempts to make a convert of him by alleging what was absolutely false¹.

Job, disgusted by his indecent acrimony, appeals from the judgement of man to the judgement of God : but, while he allows that the wicked are soon cast down from their prosperity ; he stoutly denies that any such character belongs to *him*, and therefore still continues to justify himself as much as ever he did. *God knoweth the way that I take : when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold. My foot hath held his steps : his ways have I kept, and not declined. Neither have I gone back from the commandment of his lips : I have esteemed the words of his mouth more than my necessary food*².

Perceiving the error of Eliphaz, Bildad prudently abstains from all gross personalities ; and contents himself with briefly restating the position, which his ally had twice already advanced in two of his former speeches. **HOW CAN MAN BE JUSTIFIED WITH GOD : OR HOW CAN HE, THAT IS WOMAN-BORN, BE CLEAN ? BEHOLD, EVEN TO THE MOON ; AND IT SHINETH NOT : YEA, THE STARS ARE NOT PURE IN HIS SIGHT.**

¹ Job xxii.

² Job xxiii. xxiv.

HOW MUCH LESS MAN, THAT IS A WORM; AND THE SON OF MAN, WHICH IS A REPTILE¹.

The regular dispute now drawing to an end, Job, in his long concluding speech, professes himself to be wholly unconvinced. He acknowledges the greatness of God; he declares the final calamities of the wicked; he extols the excellence of divine wisdom; he adverts to his former prosperity; and he notices his present troubles: but, preserving a perfect consistency from first to last, he still resolutely justifies himself, and still firmly maintains his meritorious sinlessness. *Till I die, I will not remove mine integrity from me. My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go: my heart shall not reproach me, so long as I live. Let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity. Oh, that one would hear me! Behold, my desire is that the Almighty would answer me, and that mine accuser would file his bill of accusation against me. Surely, I would take it upon my shoulder, and bind it as a crown to me. I would boldly declare unto him the number of my steps: as a witness in court, I would fearlessly approach him*².

At the close of Job's final oration, the author of the poem speaks in his own person: and, as if to preclude all possibility of mistake with respect to the subject which he has been discussing (though indeed it is no easy matter for

¹ Job xxv.

² Job xxxvi —xxxix.

any moderately attentive reader to mistake his drift), he specifically tells us, that *these three men ceased to answer Job*, BECAUSE HE WAS RIGHTEOUS IN HIS OWN EYES¹. What then is to be done? Is the character, represented by Job, to be left in this state of mental delusion? Another expedient yet remains: Elihu, whom I suspect to personate Moses himself in his capacity of a teacher sent from God, is introduced as a moderator, at once to correct the error of Job and to supply what is defective in the argument of his three friends. Accordingly we are informed, that his wrath was kindled against Job, BECAUSE HE JUSTIFIED HIMSELF RATHER THAN GOD: and that his wrath was also kindled against his three friends, BECAUSE THEY HAD FOUND NO ANSWER AND YET HAD CONDEMNED JOB². This being the case, his decision, if it be at all in point, must, on the one hand, censure the self-justifying humour of the parabolizing Arab; and, on the other hand, must find that conclusive answer which the three friends had *not* found. Now with such a presumption it exactly corresponds: and the circumstance of its correspondence furnishes an additional proof, that the argument of the sacred drama has not been misunderstood or mistated.

Elihu, as the course of his argument naturally prompted him, begins with censuring the error

¹ Job xxxii. 1.

² Job xxxii. 2, 3.

of Job or rather of the self-righteous moralist whom he is made to personate. *Surely thou hast spoken in mine hearing, and I have heard the voice of thy words.* I AM CLEAN WITHOUT TRANSGRESSION: I AM INNOCENT, NEITHER IS THERE INIQUITY IN ME. BEHOLD, HE FINDETH OCCASIONS AGAINST ME; HE COUNTETH ME FOR HIS ENEMY: HE PUTTETH MY FEET IN THE STOCKS; HE MARKETH ALL MY PATHS. *Behold, in this thou art not just: I will answer thee, that God is greater than man*¹.

Here we have the error of Job most distinctly stated: and what is the remedy, when he shall have confessed his error; that remedy, respecting which his three friends are totally silent? We have it set forth exactly where it *ought* to be set forth, in immediate consecution to the censure of Job's error. *God speaketh once, yea twice; yet man perceiveth it not. In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed. Then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction; that he may withdraw man from his purpose, and hide pride from man. He keepeth back his soul from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword. He is chastened also with pain upon his bed, and the multitude of his bones with strong pain; so that his life abhorreth bread, and his soul dainty meat. His flesh is consumed away, so that it cannot be seen: and his bones,*

¹ Job xxxiii. 8—12.

that were not seen, stick out. Yea, his soul draweth near unto the pit, and his life to the destroyers. IF THERE BE OVER HIM THE ANGEL MEDIATOR, ONE FROM THE CHIEF LEADER, TO SHEW UNTO MAN HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS: THEN HE WILL BE GRACIOUS UNTO HIM, AND SAY; DELIVER HIM FROM GOING DOWN TO THE PIT: I HAVE FOUND AN ATONEMENT. His flesh shall be fresher than a child's: he shall return to the days of his youth. He shall pray unto God, and he will accept him; and he shall see his face with joy: for he will restore unto frail man his righteousness. He looketh upon man, when he saith: I have sinned, and I have made crooked that which was straight, and that which is not level is mine. Redeem my soul from passing into the pit: and my life shall look upon the light. Lo, all these things worketh God oftentimes with man, to bring back his soul from the pit, to enlighten him with the light of the living. Mark well, O Job, hearken unto me: keep silence, while I speak. If there be an answer, give it me: speak, for I shall rejoice at thy justification. If not, do thou listen unto me: be silent, while I teach thee wisdom¹. It is scarcely necessary to make any observations on this remarkable passage: it speaks sufficiently for itself. When man, by a series of visitations from God, is brought to understand the nature of his own case, and is reduced to an absolute despair of mercy: he

¹ Job xxxiii. 14—33.

will then be ready to avail himself of that offer of pardon and reconciliation, which the Lord makes to him through the Angel-Mediator. This divine personage, the Word or Messenger of the Chief Leader, displays his righteousness to man; and delivers him from going down into the pit, by finding an atonement for him. Then his guilty fears and doubts and sorrows are removed: and he is restored, as it were, to all the vigour and confidence of youth. God accepts him through the merits of the great Intercessor; and imputatively restores to him that righteousness, which he could no longer claim as a personal quality. For, when man humbly confesses his iniquities and prays for the redemption of his soul; God is ever ready to look upon him and to bring back his soul from the pit into the light of the living. Such is the sum of the whole matter: and, if Job be able to justify himself in any other way, let him do it; if not, let him be silent and learn the wisdom of the Most High.

Elihu, having thus distinctly stated the question, proceeds in the remainder of his speech to amplify and expatiate on the subject. As the Pharisaical humour of Job stood directly opposed to the doctrine of *justification*, which it was his business to enforce and explain, he censures this unbecoming pride with due severity. *Job hath said, I AM RIGHTEOUS: YET GOD HATH TURNED AWAY MY JUDGEMENT. SHALL I LIE*

AGAINST MY JUDGEMENT? MY ARROW OF AFFLICTION IS GRIEVOUS, YET WITHOUT TRANSGRESSION ON MY PART. *Where is the man like Job, who drinketh in scorn like water? Shall it be said unto God; I HAVE SUFFERED, I DID NOT DESERVE IT? Rather ought we to say; WHAT I SEE NOT, TEACH THOU ME. SINCE I HAVE DONE INIQUITY, I WILL NOT ADD TO IT. Job hath spoken without knowledge: and his words have been without wisdom. For to his sin he addeth rebellion: he hath clapped his hands amongst us, and hath multiplied his words against God. Thinkest thou this to be right, that thou saidst; MY RIGHTEOUSNESS IS MORE THAN GOD'S? Therefore Job doth open his mouth in vain: he multiplieth words without knowledge*¹. The error of Job having now been sufficiently exposed, he properly devotes all the rest of his oration to set forth, by way of contrast, the infinite justice and wisdom and power of God; that so the frail worm man may be led to hide his face, and to humble himself even to the very dust in the presence of his Creator².

Such is the decision of a moderator, who, according to Job's own wish, professes himself to stand in God's stead: well therefore might we imagine, that the business was finally settled. But so natural is pride and self-complacency to the heart of man, that Job, as we perceive from

¹ Job xxxiv. xxxv.

² Job xxxvi. xxxvii.

his silence, even yet refuses to acknowledge himself convinced. Nothing therefore remained for the author, save the calling in of a present Deity to untie the knot. The introduction of this machinery both adds an inexpressible grace and majesty to the poem itself; and likewise shews, what actually though invisibly takes place, whenever a man is truly brought to receive the humbling doctrine of *justification by the righteousness of another*. Until the Holy Spirit change and illuminate the dark and stubborn heart, no human train of reasoning, however conclusive, will be able to overcome its obstinacy. The Lord therefore is exhibited, as answering Job out of the whirlwind, and as teaching him his vileness and insignificance by a lofty descant on the divine perfections. This soon produces the desired effect: and the personated haughty moralist is now for the first time brought sincerely to acknowledge his own manifold corruptions. *Then Job answered the Lord, and said: Behold, I am vile; what shall I answer thee? I will lay mine hand upon my mouth. Once have I spoken; but I will not answer: yea twice; but I will proceed no further.* To complete however the conviction of his pupil, the divine teacher does not let the matter rest here; but triumphantly pursues his argument, still in the same strain, though with a more direct application to the character with whom he was dealing. *Then answered the Lord unto Job out of the whirlwind, and said: Gird up*

thy loins now like a man : I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto me. Wilt thou disannul my justice? Wilt thou condemn me, that thou mayest be righteous? Deck thyself now with majesty and excellency, and array thyself with glory and beauty. Then will I also confess unto thee, that thine own right hand can save thee. The work is now accomplished, and the proud sinner is fully convinced. Then Job answered the Lord, and said : I know, that thou canst do every thing, and that no thought can be withholden from thee. Who is he that hideth counsel without knowledge? Therefore have I uttered what I understood not ; things too wonderful for me, which I knew not. Hear, I beseech thee, and I will speak : I will demand of thee, and declare thou unto me. I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear : but now mine eye seeth thee. Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes¹.

Here this argumentative poem ends : and, as it exhibits throughout the strictest unity of design, so it may well be pronounced the noblest monument of Patriarchal and Levitical theology which occurs in the whole volume of the Hebrew Scriptures. To fallen man the subject is the most important of all other subjects : for, it is nothing less than a full discussion of the vital doctrine of *justification and reconciliation to God through the merits of the Angel-Redeemer* ; a discussion, raised upon the basis of human vileness

¹ Job xxxviii.—xlii.

and corruption, but carried up even to immortal life in the heaven of heavens itself. The subject, in short, is the very same as that of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: and the book of Job, in its closely argumentative form, may be said to bear the same relation to the Old Testament as that celebrated Epistle does to the New Testament. Chapter by chapter, the work has been strictly analysed; and the general result of the whole is this: SINFUL MAN, EVEN WHEN MOST ATTENTIVE TO THE DUTIES OF MORALITY, CANNOT JUSTIFY HIMSELF IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD. TO DELIVER HIM FROM WRATH, AND TO GIVE HIM A RIGHT TO A JOYFUL RESURRECTION FROM THE DEAD, HE HAS NEED OF THAT ATONEMENT, WHICH CAN ONLY BE EFFECTED BY THE ANGEL-MEDIATOR.

3. As, in this comment on the book of Job, I have adopted the principle that the drama is a theological apologue founded on a true history, which history is literally detailed in the prologue and epilogue of the piece: it will be expedient, ere I conclude, that I give my authority for such a mode of interpretation.

Merely to say, that the apologue or parable is a common oriental method of conveying instruction, is not, I apprehend, sufficient: unless some better reason could be given, the idea would be little more than a gratuitous assumption. The truth however of such an opinion seems to me abundantly plain, both from the

internal evidence afforded by the very subject of the poem, and likewise from certain declarations which (as a clue to the intention of the author) are artfully made respecting the hero himself.

(1.) With regard to the internal evidence afforded by the subject of the poem, I would state it in the following manner.

The naked history is that of a good man, severely tried of God with the heaviest afflictions, and yet refusing either to apostatise or to murmur. *Job arose, and rent his mantle, and shaved his head, and fell down upon the ground, and worshipped: and he said; Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord. Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil¹? This exemplary conduct in due time receives an abundant reward. The Lord turned the captivity of Job: also the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before. So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than his beginning².*

Such is the history: and, as it constitutes the basis of a sacred drama, we must obviously conclude, according to the just laws of composition, that the drama, like the drama (for the instance) of the *Ædipus Tyrannus*, would be nothing more than a pœtic amplification of the history. But,

¹ Job i. 20, 21. ii. 10.

² Job xlii. 10, 12.

when we come to examine it, so far is this from being the case, that no two things can well be more dissimilar than *the subject of the drama* and *the literal historical narrative*. The three friends of Job profess to comfort him; and Job himself appears bowed down with a load of affliction: but the drama itself, with the exception of a few references just sufficient to bind it to the history, has not the slightest connection with the peculiar fate of Job; on the contrary, we find the speakers elaborately discussing, from first to last, that grand and important doctrine which is alike the key-stone of all the three Dispensations. Now in what manner shall we rationally account for this extraordinary conduct in the author, except by supposing him to employ a literal history as the basis of a religious apologue?

(2.) With the internal evidence, afforded by the subject of the poem, agree certain declarations, which the author very artfully makes respecting the hero himself.

We are told, that the Jews complained of Ezekiel on account of his speaking in *parables*¹. But, would we learn the nature of these *parables*, we need only advert to any of the numerous examples of them, which occur in the writings of that prophet, to be satisfied that they are strict or proper apologies. Such is the parable

¹ Ezek. xx. 49.

of the eagle with great wings¹: such again is the parable of the sour grapes²: and such is the parable of the boiling pot³. All these apologues are expressly denominated *parables*: and various other specimens of the same mode of composition occur, both in the prophecies of Ezekiel himself, and in many other parts of Scripture. At a subsequent period, our Lord greatly affected this parabolical method of teaching: and, in truth, he did nothing more than adopt a practice, which from the earliest ages had been familiar throughout the East⁴. Now Job is twice said to speak in *parables*: and the original word is the very same as that, which Ezekiel employs to designate his undoubted apologues⁵. Hence I conclude, that, in using this term, it was the purpose of the author dexterously to insinuate the nature of his composition.

On the whole therefore, when we put together *the internal evidence afforded by the subject of the poem and the author's assertion that the words of Job were parabolical*, we can scarcely doubt, I think, that the drama is a religious apologue built upon the literal history of the trials endured by a pious Arab.

¹ Ezek. xvii. 2—10.

² Ezek. xviii. 2, 3.

³ Ezek. xxiv. 3—14.

⁴ See Judg. ix. 7—21. 2 Sam. xii. 1—9. xiv. 1—20. Isaiah v. 1—7. Jerem. ii. 1—20. Ezek. xii. xv. xvi. xix. xxiii. xxiv. 15—27. xxxvii. Hos. i—iii. Zechar. i. ii. iii. iv. v. vi. xi. Psalm xlv. Cant. Solom.

⁵ Job xxvii. 1. xxix. 1.

BOOK III.

RESPECTING THE OBJECT

OF THE

CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE OBJECT OF THE CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION WAS TO ENFORCE THE VITAL DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION THROUGH A DIVINE MEDIATOR AND THE CONSEQUENT CERTAINTY OF ETERNAL LIFE WITH A DEGREE OF CLEARNESS AND FULNESS HITHERTO UNKNOWN.

THUS, I am willing to hope, the object of the successive Patriarchal and Levitical Dispensations has been satisfactorily ascertained; those Dispensations, which either historically or politically or theologically form the varied theme of the great legislator of the Israelites. It now only remains, as a proper winding up of the whole argument, to discuss the object of the Christian Dispensation.

What its predecessors taught and announced *prospectively*, this concluding Dispensation has exhibited in actual accomplishment, and to the very end of time will teach and enforce *retrospectively*. The early-promised and long-expected Angel-Redeemer has now been manifested in the flesh: he has made a full and perfect atone-

ment for the sins of lost mankind: he has exhibited himself as the mediator of the new covenant: and, the shadows of comparative night having passed away, he has brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel.

As the substance of all the three Dispensations is the same, *a triple cord not quickly broken*; so, with some shades of difference, the object of all the three may be pronounced the same also.

Of the Patriarchal Dispensation, the object was *to inculcate the doctrine of Redemption with its necessary concomitant the doctrine of a recovered happy immortality.*

Of the Levitical Dispensation, the object was *to preserve the knowledge of the true God in the midst of surrounding idolatry and to perpetuate and confirm the aboriginal doctrine of Redemption with all the blessed consequences which flow from it.*

Of the Christian Dispensation, the object is still *to enforce the same vital doctrine, namely the doctrine of Redemption through a divine Mediator and the consequent certainty of eternal life; but to enforce it with a degree of clearness and fulness, which can only spring from a now actually completed deliverance.*

In discussing this topic, I shall treat of the nature of God's covenant with man as ratified by Christ the Mediator, and shall maintain that the knowledge of the only true God and of Jesus in his character of the Messiah is the basis of eternal life. Such matters having been settled,

I shall next set forth the mode in which God's love to fallen man is described as operating : and, when this has been done, I shall conclude with some observations on the nature of that happiness of the blessed in heaven, which is the end or object or design of the Christian Dispensation.

Meanwhile, we may say with St. Paul. *As the children are partakers of flesh and blood, Christ also himself likewise took part of the same : that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil ; and deliver them, who through fear of death were all their life-time subject to bondage. For, verily, he took not on him the nature of angels ; but he took on him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore, in all things, it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren ; that he might be a merciful and faithful high-priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people*¹.

¹ Heb. ii. 14—17.

CHAPTER II.

RESPECTING THE ALLIED NATURE OF THE LEVITICAL AND CHRISTIAN COVENANTS AS ILLUSTRATED BY ST. PAUL ON THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF ANCIENT COVENANTING.

THE Levitical Dispensation viewed as succeeding and including the Patriarchal, and the Christian Dispensation viewed as completing God's gracious purposes to man, are alike described, as being severally a covenant or compact between Jehovah and his people.

I am aware, that some writers have been unwilling to allow the existence of any true and proper covenant between God and man; and that others, while they acknowledge the existence of a true and proper covenant, suppose it to have been made, not between God and man, but between the persons of the ever blessed Trinity: to neither of these opinions, however, can I assent.

With respect to the first of them, it is contradicted by the very word which is employed by the sacred writers to describe the nature of

the transaction; for it is utterly incredible, that they should use a word, which in all other cases denotes *a covenant between two or more contracting parties*, for the purpose of setting forth a transaction which all the while (it is pretended) was *no proper covenant at all* but only *a dispensation from God to man*¹: and, with respect

¹ The Greek word *Diathekè* is always used by the Seventy and by the inspired evangelical writers to express the Hebrew word *Berith*. Hence, what the one denotes, the other must also denote. But the Hebrew word *Berith* invariably denotes *a covenant between two or more contracting parties*, as is clear from the necessary sense of the various passages in which it occurs. Therefore the Greek word *Diathekè*, as used by the Seventy and the inspired evangelical writers, must equally denote *a covenant between two or more contracting parties*.

Yet, notwithstanding the sense of the Greek translativè *Diathekè* is thus determined by the sense of the Hebrew original *Berith*, many have contended, that the *Diathekè* of the Christian Scriptures is not *a covenant between two parties* but only *a dispensation or disposition or institution on the part of God alone*. Such is the opinion of Junius: such also is the opinion of Parkhurst.

Now the futility of such an opinion will at once appear, if we recur to some of the passages wherein the Hebrew word *Berith* occurs.

In Heb. viii. 8—12 and in Jerem. xxxi. 31—34, St. Paul and the Seventy use the word *Diathekè* to interpret the word *Berith* as originally employed by the prophet Jeremiah: and, in this place, Junius and Parkhurst maintain, that no proper covenant is spoken of, but simply a disposition or institution or dispensation on the part of God alone. Now the word *Berith*, employed by Jeremiah, is the self-same word as that, which is employed by Moses (I select only two

to the second of them, it is no less contradicted by Holy Scripture ; in which the Levitical

instances out of a multitude) to describe the transaction which took place between Abraham and Abimelech and the transaction which took place between Jacob and Laban. Gen. xxi. 22—32. xxxi. 44—54. Accordingly, with much exact propriety, the word *Berith*, thus occurring in these three places, is uniformly rendered in the version of the Seventy by the word *Diathekè*. If then the word, as it occurs in Jerem. xxxi. 31—34, denote, not *a covenant*, but *a dispensation from a single person*: the same word, as it occurs in Gen. xxi. 22—32. and in Gen. xxxi. 44—54, must denote the very same. Whence it will follow, that the several transactions, between Abraham and Abimelech on the one hand, and between Jacob and Laban on the other hand, were not covenants between two parties, but dispensations each from a single person.

It may be said, that the same word, in all languages, often bears different significations.

Undoubtedly it does: but, when we find the word *Berith* or *Diathekè* ALWAYS to denote *a covenant*, save in those passages wherein these authors assert that it does NOT denote *a covenant*; their assertion seems to me a pure begging of the question. The truth of the matter is this; which can be controverted by no one, however he may be disposed to translate the word itself: the word *Berith* is never used, except in the case of a transaction wherein two or more parties are concerned. Hence the only question is, whether it invariably describes *a covenant between two or more parties*; or whether it describes, sometimes *a covenant between two or more parties*, and at other times *a dispensation from one party to another exclusive of every idea of a covenant*.

Much more consonant with the plain tenor of Scripture is the judgment of Mr. Locke, than that of Junius and Parkhurst. *A covenant or promise once ratified*, says he when

covenant, and thence of necessity its palpable antitype the Christian covenant, is always described, as a compact between God on the one hand and his chosen people on the other hand ¹.

The objection, I apprehend, to the supposition of an actual and proper covenant between Jehovah and his people, is built upon a feeling of humility, as if such a transaction were incompatible with the dignity of the Supreme Being : but, where God has been pleased explicitly to declare the principles of the economy of grace, we ought to beware of what the apostle calls *a voluntary humility*. So far from denying the existence of a real covenant, we ought rather most thankfully to close with the terms which it propounds. Nor is it by any means difficult to gather the sum and substance of these terms from Scripture : for, as the terms themselves are the only terms suitable to a fallen being, so do they constitute the very pith and marrow of all revealed religion.

commenting on Gal. iii. 17—20, *cannot be altered or disannulled by any other, but by both the parties concerned*. Now, says St. Paul, *God is but one of the parties concerned in the promise: the Gentiles and Israelites together made up the other*.

Doubtless it is an act of great and voluntary condescension on the part of God to ratify a covenant with man : but, if it please God thus to condescend, there is nothing incongruous or inconceivable in the idea.

¹ See Exod. xix. 3—8. Deut. xxix. 12—29. Psalm l. 5. lxxxix. 3.

Our Lord speaks of *the new Covenant*; meaning *the covenant which is involved in the Christian Dispensation*¹: and St. Paul speaks contradistinctively of *the first Covenant* and *the new Covenant*; meaning of course, by the latter *the Christian Covenant*, and by the former *the Covenant included in the Levitical Dispensation viewed as a continuation of the Patriarchal*². For, as the medium of the Patriarchal Covenant and the medium of the Levitical Covenant were alike the sacrificial devotement of typical victims, so the medium of the Christian Covenant was the sacrificial devotement of the antitypical victim Christ. Whence the two earlier Covenants, being each ratified typically over animal-victims and each therefore being strictly similar in their leading characteristic, are viewed (if I mistake not) by St. Paul, as being effectively no more than a single Covenant; which he accordingly styles *the first Covenant*: while the later and consummating Covenant, being alone ratified antitypically over the true victim Christ, is denominated by him *the new Covenant*, as it had been denominated by his great Master before him and yet earlier by Jeremiah in the spirit of prophecy, contradistinctively from *the first*³.

Here we must carefully attend to the sense,

¹ Matt. xxvi. 28. Mark xix. 24. Luke xxii. 20.

² Heb. viii. 6—10, 13. ix. 1, 15, 18.

³ Jerem. xxxi. 31.

in which the Christian Covenant is called *the new Covenant*: or we shall be in danger of forming some very erroneous opinions on the subject.

Now it is styled *new*, not as being *new in nature*, but as being *new in order*; not as if it were wholly different in character from its predecessor, but as completing and therefore superseding it. For, in truth, so far as principle or nature is concerned, there is no difference between the first Covenant and the new Covenant. Each was ratified in the same manner: the one, over the typical victims; the other, over the antitypical victim. And each had respect to the very same gracious provision, made by a merciful God for the redemption and ultimate salvation of fallen man. They differed only, if I may be allowed the expression, in their machinery: nor in that did they differ any further, than as type differs from antitype or as the shadow differs from the substance. The object of each was exactly similar: and the terms of each were exactly the same. From the fall of man to the end of the world, the great Covenant of grace, though subdivided by the Apostle into *a typical Covenant before the death of Christ* and *an antitypical Covenant after the death of Christ*, is substantially and essentially ONE. And the terms of this ONE Covenant between God and man, whether typically uncompleted or antitypically completed, are still the same. Jehovah engages, on his part, to accept the merito-

rious death of the Messiah, as a full acquittal and satisfaction for all the sins of his people; stipulating, to guide and preserve them here, and to receive them to glory hereafter. The people of Jehovah again, on their part, thankfully closing in with an offer thus mercifully made to them, engage to receive God as their God for ever and ever; submitting themselves to the Messiah, in his triple character of their king and their priest and their prophet: their king, whose laws they stand bound to obey; their priest, through whose sacrifice of himself once offered their federal right to eternal happiness is established; and their prophet, whose divine instructions they profess themselves ready to receive with all humility. Such are the contracting parties in the Covenant of grace: and the medium, through which it is ratified, is, each typical victim anterior to the death of Christ, and the true antitypical victim Christ himself in the article of his death. Each typical victim however derived its whole efficacy from its antitype: and, in this sense, Christ is said to be *the lamb, which was slain from the foundation of the world*¹; because he was virtually and meritoriously slain in the purpose of his Father, whenever the Covenant was of old ratified over a sacrifice. Hence, as being the federal medium of ratification, Christ is styled

¹ Rev. xiii. 8.

*the mediator of the new Covenant*¹: hence also the Levitical Covenant is said to have been *ordained in the hand or through the instrumentality of a mediator*, because the typical medium of ratification anterior to the sacrifice of Christ was each slaughtered animal-victim²: and hence, in

¹ Heb. viii. 6. ix. 15. xii. 24.

² Gal. iii. 19. Commentators have generally supposed, that *the mediator*, spoken of in this passage, was *Moses*; through whose instrumentality the Law was delivered from mount Sinai, and who is thence described as *a mediator between God and his people Israel*.

This interpretation has always appeared to me erroneous, because it is altogether irreconcilable with the tenor of the Apostle's argument in Heb. viii. and ix.

Throughout the whole of that passage, *the first Covenant* is studiously contrasted with *the new Covenant*: whence, unless the whole argument be nullified, *the mediator of the one Covenant* must, in the specific nature of his mediation, answer to *the mediator of the other*. But *Christ* is said to be *the mediator of the new Covenant*: and the specific nature of his mediation, as it is asserted both by himself and by St. Paul, consists in his being put to death as a sacrifice, his blood being the blood of the new Covenant or the blood whereby the new Covenant is ratified. Therefore *the mediator of the first Covenant* must be *something which corresponds with Christ in his mediatorial capacity*: and the specific nature of the mediation effected by this mediator, in order that it may answer to the specific nature of Christ's mediation, must of necessity be sacrificial, the blood of the mediator being the blood of the first Covenant or the blood which is employed to ratify the first Covenant.

Now, with such a description of *the mediator of the first Covenant*, the character of *Moses* does by no means agree;

exact accordance with what has been urged relative to the nature and constitution of the

because he was never devoted as a federal sacrifice, neither was the first Covenant ratified by his blood : therefore *Moses* cannot be that *mediator of the first Covenant* alluded to by St. Paul, when he says that the Law was ordained in the hand or through the instrumentality of a mediator. But, with such a description of *the mediator of the first Covenant*, the character of *the animal-sacrifices* exactly agrees ; because the victims were devoted as a federal sacrifice, and because the first Covenant was ratified by their blood : therefore I conclude, that, when St. Paul speaks of *the mediator of the first Covenant*, he means, not *Moses*, but *the slaughtered victims collectively over which the first Covenant was ratified*.

Accordingly, the Apostle himself does in effect tell us, that this is his meaning. For, while he assures us, that *Christ is the mediator of the new Covenant* in virtue of his death : he also tells us, that neither was the first Covenant inaugurated without blood ; that is to say, without the blood of *the mediator of the first Covenant*. And, what that blood is, he immediately proceeds to inform us : for he introduces *Moses*, as saying of the blood of the sacrificed calves and goats ; *This is the blood of the Covenant which God hath enjoined unto you.* Heb. ix. 15—20. The whole comparison however is palpably futile and incongruous, unless *the blood of the calves and the goats* bears the same relation to *the first Covenant* as *the blood of Christ* does to *the new Covenant* : in other words, unless *the calves and the goats collectively* be *the mediator of the first Covenant* as *Christ is the mediator of the new Covenant*.

Moses indeed is an eminent type of *Christ*, but certainly not in this specific particular. *His* mediation between God and Israel was of a wholly different sort : it was simply the mediation or intervention of a messenger from one party to another, not the mediation by virtue of which a covenant is

Covenant of grace, *a mediator*, as the very word itself implies, is declared by St. Paul to be, *not the mediator of one* or of a single party (which involves a plain contradiction) but of two contracting parties; arguing, in opposition (as it were) to those who would describe the Covenant to be nothing more than a dispensation, that *God is only one*, whereas the very introduction of a mediator requires and supposes the existence of two parties at the least¹. This then is the Covenant of grace, respecting which we read so much in Holy Scripture: these are its contracting parties: these are its terms: and this, from first to last, either typically or substantially, is the medium or mediator, through whom and over whom it is ratified.

The doctrine of *an atonement made for the sins of mankind through the vicarious sufferings of Christ the mediator*, which forms the very basis of the Covenant of grace in each of the two subdivisions into which it is distributed by St. Paul, though in these latter days of blasphemy and rebuke it has been repeatedly and vehemently

ratified. See Deut. v. 5. Levit. xxvi. 46. To these texts, Gal. iii. 19 has been usually thought to refer: but, as it appears to me, without any good reason, and rather in plain irrelevancy to the Apostle's argument in that passage.

¹ Gal. iii. 20. Such is Mr. Locke's interpretation of the passage: and it immediately approves itself as being the true one; though, by *the mediator* in ver. 19, he erroneously (so far as I can judge) understands *Moses*.

impugned, is justly deemed, by all those who are content to take their religion from Holy Scripture, the very corner-stone of the Evangelical Dispensation. Numerous, and explicit, and to plain men most unequivocal, are the proofs of this all-important doctrine, which are profusely scattered throughout the whole word of God. They meet us in the form of direct assertion: they encounter us in the shape of allusions to the piacular sacrifices of the Hebrew ritual: and they present themselves to us mingled so intimately and so inseparably with various trains of reasoning, that, if they be viewed in any other light than that of designedly establishing the truth of the doctrine in question, the whole argument connected with them becomes palpably illogical and inconclusive. Proofs of this last description are perhaps, to reasoning minds, the most satisfactory of any: at all events, they may be the most cogently employed for the refutation of Socinian sophistry. A proof, which wears the form of a direct assertion, may be explained away, so as to bear any sense rather than the natural one: or, if its refractoriness turn out to be altogether invincible, the passage, which contains it, may without a shadow of authority be boldly pronounced an interpolation. A proof, which is built upon a studied allusion to the piacular sacrifices of the Hebrew ritual, may be disposed of, at least to the apparent satisfaction

of some reasoners, by a dexterous use of the cabalistical words *oriental phraseology*, *poetical application*, *indefinite accommodation*, and the like : the meaning of which in plain English is, that, if one thing be illustratively compared to another, we may fairly conclude, that no two things in the whole world are more perfectly dissimilar. But a proof, which so rests upon a train of reasoning that any perversion of its obvious meaning completely stultifies the whole argument, can neither be evaded nor disposed of : for, let it be understood in any other sense than the natural one, and the writer, who employs the argument, forthwith appears in the light of a most thoroughly inconclusive reasoner ¹. The

¹ In consequence of some experiments of this sort, St. Paul has been absolutely styled *an inconclusive reasoner* by a well-known writer of the Socinian school. Doubtless, if *Socinian* premises be substituted for the premises of *the Apostle himself*, it requires not the sagacity of a prophet to anticipate that his reasoning will be inconclusive. But I should deem it more logical, as well as more modest, to suppose ; that, if a false conclusion be the result of a particular mode of explanation, the explanation *itself* is erroneous, not that *St. Paul* has reasoned inconclusively. Let the learned Apostle be only suffered to reason from *his own* premises, and we shall have no grounds for quarrelling with his logic : but, if he be made to reason from *Socinian* premises, his reasoning will of course be inconclusive. The blame however does not rest with St. Paul, but with his Socinian commentator : and any unprejudiced person will readily see, that the very alleged inconclusiveness of reasoning is in truth a decisive proof that the

proof, in short, and the argument cannot be separated, save at the expence of ascribing manifest absurdity to the writer who uses the argument.

I. A proof of this last description seems to me to be afforded by the train of reasoning, which pervades the eighth and ninth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But in order that the proof may be satisfactorily brought out, it is obvious that the train of reasoning itself must be first understood. This however, to a certain extent at least, is obscured by a variation of phraseology in our common English translation which does not occur in the Greek original.

1. Throughout the whole of the eighth chapter and the first half of the ninth, the Greek word *Diathekè* is rendered by the English word *Covenant*: but, throughout the second half of the ninth chapter, the self-same Greek word *Diathekè* is rendered by the English word *Testament*.

Hence the entire passage, comprehended within the eighth and ninth chapters, presents a materially different aspect in the Greek and in the English: for, in the Greek, the single word *Dia-*

Apostle did *not* reason from Socinian premises. Allow the doctrines of *the atonement* and of *the divinity of Christ*, as the foundations of St. Paul's reasoning: and no man will be found to reason more conclusively. Deny those doctrines, as the foundations of his reasoning; while you substitute for them the dogmata of the Socinian school: and then, it is readily allowed, no man will be found to reason more inconclusively.

theke is employed throughout ; but, in the English, two words of a very different signification are employed, namely *Covenant* in the sense of a compact, and *Testament* in the sense of *that instrument which bears the name of a man's last dying will*. The variation too, of which I speak, is rendered the more striking, by the circumstance of our translators returning, after the close of the ninth chapter, to their original mode of rendering the Greek word *Diatheke* ; which original mode they thenceforth retain to the end of the Epistle. Thus, in the ninth chapter, we read of *the blood of the Testament* ; and, in the tenth chapter, of *the blood of the Covenant* : yet, in the Greek original, the self-same phrase occurs in each place without the least difference¹. And thus, in the ninth chapter, we read of *the mediator of the New Testament* ; and, in the twelfth chapter, of *the mediator of the new Covenant* : yet here again, in the Greek original, there is no material difference of phraseology².

2. Now a variation, so extraordinary and so wholly unwarranted by the original, is, I think,

¹ Heb. ix. 20. x. 29. Gr. το αἷμα της διαθηκης and το αἷμα της διαθηκης.

² Heb. ix. 15. xii. 24. Gr. διαθηκης καινης μεσιτης and διαθηκης νεης μεσιτη. The same expression διαθηκη καινη, as it occurs in Matt. xxvi. 28. Mark xiv. 24. and Luke xxii. 20, is uniformly translated *the new Testament*, just as it is translated in Heb. ix. 15 : yet, in Heb. xii. 24, it is translated *the new Covenant*.

altogether intolerable : for, when the inspired author was pursuing one unbroken chain of argumentation to which this single word *Diathekè* plainly enough supplies the leading idea, it is incredible that so faulty a mode of writing should have been adopted by him, as to use this single leading word in two entirely different significations. Therefore, with Codurcus, Whitby, Peirce, Doddridge, Wakefield, and Macnight, I conclude unhesitatingly, that the Apostle must needs have employed the word *Diathekè* in one and the same sense throughout the entire passage comprehended within the eighth and ninth chapters.

3. Such being the case, if in *one part* of the passage we choose to translate it by the English word *Testament*, we thereby stand pledged to translate it similarly throughout the *whole* passage : or, if in *one part* of the passage we choose to translate it by the English word *Covenant*, we thereby again stand pledged to translate it similarly throughout the *whole* passage. On the authority of the best Greek writers, we may, in the abstract, that is to say, independently of any particular context, render the naked word *Diathekè* in either of these two significations ¹.

II. From this statement of the matter, a question immediately arises as to the true sense,

¹ Thus Aristophanes : *Ἦν μὴ διαθωνται διαθηκὴν ἐμοί.* And thus Isèus : *Ἐτέραν ἐνομισαν διαθηκὴν, ἣν ἐφασαν Ἀρχεπολιν ἐν Ἀθηναῖς διαθεσθαι.* See Scap. Lexic.

which we ought to ascribe to the Apostle's word *Diathekè*.

For the resolution of such a question, St. Paul himself affords us a clue. Citing a well known passage from the prophet Jeremiah, he expresses, as the Seventy have constantly done before him, the Hebrew word *Berith* by the Greek word *Diathekè*¹. Hence it follows, that St. Paul and the Seventy intended, that we should understand by the Greek word *Diathekè* the very same that they and their countrymen understood by the Hebrew word *Berith*.

What then is the sense, in which the Hebrew word *Berith* occurs throughout the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and in which it has always been understood by the Jews: for, if we can ascertain the meaning of this word, we shall thence also ascertain the meaning which St. Paul intended us to annex to the Greek word *Diathekè*?

Now, as, on the one hand, the Hebrew word *Berith* most assuredly never denotes *a man's last will and testament*; so, on the other hand, nothing (I think) can be more plain, than that it signifies *a covenant or compact or bargain made between two or more contracting parties*². Accordingly, in this

¹ Heb. viii. 8—12. Jerem. xxxi. 31—34.

² See Gen. xv. 18. xxi. 27—32. xxxi. 44—54. Exod. xxxiv. 27. Josh. xxiv. 25. 1 Sam. xviii. 3. 1 Kings xx. 34. 2 Kings xi. 4. 1 Chron. xi. 3. 2 Chron. xxiii. 3. Isaiah xxviii. 15. Jer. xxxiv. 8.

sense it has always been understood by the Jews and by those lexicographers who very sensibly have had recourse to them¹.

¹ See Buxtorf's Heb. Lex. vox ברית. I cannot but deem the sense, which Mr. Parkhurst would annex to the word, alike fanciful and unauthorized.

1. In direct opposition to the Greek of the Seventy, who uniformly render *Berith* by *Diathekè*, and therefore in direct opposition to the judgment of the best-informed Jews long before the Christian era, he would derive the word from *Bar* which signifies *to purify*, and would thence make its import to be *a purifier*.

To the adoption of this idea he is mainly led by the peculiarity of the Hebrew phrase *Cherath Berith*, which literally denotes *to cut a covenant*, and which he would translate *to cut off the purifier*: for the word *Berith*, he contends, never strictly signifies *a covenant*; although he allows the phrase *Cherath Berith* to be sometimes equivalent to *making a covenant*, because a sacrificial devotement was usual on such occasions.

No doubt the peculiar phrase *Cherath Berith* relates to the mode in which covenants were formerly ratified, namely by cutting off a victim in sacrifice (see Psalm l. 5.); just in the same manner and on the same principles as the Latin *ſædus ferire* and *ſædere icto*, whence our familiar English expression *to strike a bargain*: but, so far as peculiarity of phraseology is concerned, we might with equal reasonableness maintain, that the true and proper signification of the Latin *Fœdus* and the English *Bargain* is in each case *a Purifier*. Much more probable and natural is the second etymology of the word proposed by Buxtorf, referring as it does, immediately to the phrase *Cherath Berith* or *to cut a covenant*. He supposes, that the word *Berith* denotes *a Covenant* or *a Compact*, from the act of slaughtering; because victims were wont to be slaughtered in the making of covenants, as Gen. xv. 10:

If then the word *Berith*, as it occurs in the passage of Jeremiah cited by St. Paul, denote a

which signification it derives from its root *Bara*, being deduced from that root on the same grammatical principle as *Shebith* from *Shaba*.

2. Equally unsatisfactory is the meaning, which Mr. Parkhurst would ascribe to the Greek word *Diathekè* throughout the passage now under discussion. As I have already intimated, he wholly denies to it the sense of a *covenant between two or more contracting parties*; and maintains that our English word *Dispensation* most happily corresponds with it.

To this I reply, in the first place, that St. Paul's quotation from Jeremiah determines the Greek *Diathekè* to be equivalent to the Hebrew *Berith*; which according to Mr. Parkhurst, denotes a *Purifier*: and, in the second place, that, if we render *Diathekè* by *Dispensation*, we shall, in one particular text which occurs in the present passage, put an assertion into the mouth of the Apostle which is not true. According to Mr. Parkhurst's proposed translation, St. Paul is made to say: *Where a Dispensation is, there must also of necessity be the death of the confirmer of such Dispensation*. Now, whether by the *confirmer* we understand the person who confirms the Dispensation or an animal slaughtered by way of confirming it, in neither case is there any abstract necessity for such death: that is to say, death does not always and systematically enter into the confirmation of a Dispensation. It is true, that the Levitical and the Christian Dispensations were each confirmed by death: but they were so confirmed, not as Dispensations, but as Covenants. They were likewise particular instances; whereas the remark of the Apostle is plainly a general one. A simple Dispensation from God to man might be made, and has been made, without death: as for instance the Paradisiacal Dispensation from God to Adam in his state of innocence. Gen. ii. 16, 17. If St. Paul therefore had asserted, that, *Where a Dispensation is, there must also of ne-*

covenant made between two or more contracting parties, we may be sure, that the word *Diathekè*,

cessity be the death of the confirmer of such Dispensation ; he would certainly have asserted a falsehood. Hence I think it abundantly clear, that the idea, which he wished to convey by the word *Diathekè* was not that of a *Dispensation* as contradistinguished from a *Covenant*.

3. Mr. Parkhurst seems to insinuate, that *Berith* can never, even in a secondary sense, convey the idea of a *Covenant*, unless it be joined to the verb *Cherath* ; though the phrase *Cherath Berith* or *To cut off the purifier* may be virtually equivalent to the phrase *To make a Covenant* : for it is, in fact, the application of the verb *Cherath* that produces the secondary sense. It happens, however, that the word *Berith* repeatedly occurs WITHOUT the verb *Cherath* : and, if in such places we ascribe to it what Mr. Parkhurst maintains to be its genuine signification, we shall soon perceive what strange confusion we shall make. Thus, in Gen. xvii. 4, the Seventy read, Ἡ διαθηκη μὲς μετὰ σε ; and our English translation, *My covenant is with thee* : but, according to Mr. Parkhurst, we ought to read, *My purifier is with thee*. Thus, in Gen. xvii. 13, the Seventy read, Ἐσται ἡ διαθηκη μὲς ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν εἰς διαθηκὴν αἰωνιον ; and our English translation, *My covenant shall be in your flesh for an everlasting covenant* : but, according to Mr. Parkhurst, we ought to read, *My purifier shall be in your flesh for an everlasting purifier*. And thus, in Jerem. xxxiv. 10, the Seventy read, Παντες οἱ μεγιστανες και πας ὁ λαος εἰσελθοντες ἐν τῇ διαθηκῇ ; and our English translation, *All the princes and all the people which had entered into the covenant* : but, according to Mr. Parkhurst, we ought to read, *All the princes and all the people which had entered into the purifier*. Various other instances might be adduced : but these will be amply sufficient. See Parkhurst's Heb. Lex. vox ברית, and Greek Lex. vox Διαθηκη.

4. To sum up the whole matter. The Greek *Diathekè*

which the Apostle employs as equivalent to the word *Berith* in his translation of that passage, was designed by him to be understood in the self-same sense: that is to say, where St. Paul quotes and translates Jeremiah, he uses the Greek word *Diathekè* in the sense of *a covenant made between two or more contracting parties*. But the place, where he thus quotes and translates Jeremiah, occurs in that unbroken train of reasoning, which pervades the eighth and ninth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and which forms the subject of our present discussion. Therefore, agreeably to a position already established, as the word *Diathekè* clearly occurs, in *one* part of this continued chain of reasoning, under the sense of *a covenant made between two or more contracting parties*; it must be viewed as occurring, under the same sense, in *every* part of the same train of reasoning.

Hence it will follow, that the idea of *a last will and testament*, which is introduced into our common English translation throughout the latter part of the ninth chapter, is altogether foreign to the purpose and argument of the Apostle: for

is used by St. Paul and the Seventy, as equivalent to the Hebrew *Berith*. But I doubt, whether it will be possible to find a single passage in the whole Bible, where the word *Berith* occurs in any other sense than in that of *a covenant made between two or more contracting parties*. Therefore the word *Diathekè*, being used by St. Paul and the Seventy as equivalent to *Berith*, must doubtless bear the same signification.

that, which he is treating of, and which he expresses by the Greek word *Diathekè* as intentionally equivalent to the Hebrew word *Berith*, is not a *last will and testament* but a *covenant made between two or more contracting parties*.

III. Having thus ascertained the sense, in which St. Paul uses the word *Diathekè* throughout the eighth and ninth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we must next consider the mode in which ancient covenants were made and ratified: for, upon this circumstance is built the whole argument; being in fact no other, than an argument from *general to particular*.

Now the mode, in which ancient covenants were made and ratified, was by the sacrifice of a victim: nor was the covenant deemed firm and binding upon the parties, until this ceremony had been duly performed.

1. Of the existence of such an opinion and such a practice, it is not difficult to produce various instances; instances, which shew both very remote antiquity and very extensive diffusion.

The oldest example upon record is the covenant, which God made with Noah and with every living creature that there should never more be a flood to destroy the earth. In this covenant, the contracting parties were, God on the one side, and Noah with the whole animated creation on the other side. The purport of it was, that there should never more be a deluge. And the cere-

mony, by which it was made and confirmed, was the sacrificial slaughter of every variety of clean beast and clean fowl. First in order, the victims were devoted : and then, over the dead victims, the covenant was formally ratified¹.

From this primitive ceremonial was doubtless borrowed the common ceremonial, which the posterity of Noah carried with them into their various settlements.

(1.) Thus, when the Lord made a covenant with Abraham as yet childless, that his seed should be like the stars of heaven and that they should possess the whole range of country from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates : the mode of ratifying the covenant was by the slaughter of a heifer and a she-goat and a ram and a turtle-dove and a young pigeon. After they had been slaughtered, the victims were divided in the midst : and the semblance of a smoking furnace and a burning lamp miraculously passed between the pieces².

(2.) Thus when Abraham and Abimelech made a covenant between themselves, Abraham gave to Abimelech seven ewe lambs as a testimony that he had digged the well which the servants of Abimelech had violently taken away from him. These lambs were plainly enough given for the purpose of sacrifice ; as we may collect, both from the reason of the thing, and

¹ Gen. viii. 20—22. ix. 1—17.

² Gen. xv.

from the circumstance of *seven* being a favourite sacrificial number throughout the east¹: and, over their dead bodies, the covenant between the two princes was formally ratified².

(3.) Thus again, when Jacob made a covenant with Laban, he offered sacrifice (we are told) upon the mount, and caused his brethren to partake of the sacrificial feast. The rite no doubt was performed, that so the covenant might be duly ratified over the slaughtered victims³.

(4.) A similar custom prevailed among the ancient Greeks; as we learn from the vivid description, which the poet Eschylus has given us, of the ceremonial used by the seven confederated chieftains in ratifying their covenant to stand by each other against the hostile town of Thebes.

*The seven warlike leaders, says he, having sacrificed a bull over a black shield, and having dipped their hands into the blood, swore by Mars and Bellona and blood-loving Terror, that they would either subvert by violence the city of the Cadmèans, or that in death they would moisten the earth with their own gore*⁴.

¹ See Numb. xxiii. 1, 4, 14, 29, 30. and Asiat. Res. vol. vii. p. 251, 252.

² Gen. xxi. 22—32.

³ Gen. xxxi. 44—54. See Spencer. de leg. Heb. rit. lib. iii. dissert. 2. cap. 3. sect. 2. p. 145, 146.

⁴ Ἄνδρες γὰρ ἑπτα θεριοὶ λοχαγεταί,
Ταυροσφαγεῖντες ἐς μέλανδετον σάκος,

Here again we see a covenant ratified over a slaughtered victim¹.

(5.) The same practice was familiar to the Romans; as we may collect from the charge, whether true or false, which was brought against Catiline and his associated conspirators. It is said, that they pledged themselves to each other over the slaughtered body of a man, by drinking the blood of their victim mingled with wine. Now, whether the alleged crime was ever perpetrated or no, such a ceremonial could never have been thought of by those who accused them of the deed, had they not been familiarized to the custom of making covenants over a sacrifice².

Και διεγγανοντες χερσι ταυρειου φονου,
 Αρην, Εννω, και φιλαιματον Φοβον,
 'Ωρκωμοτησαν, η πολει κατασκυφας
 Θεντες, λαπαζειν αστυ Καδμειον βια,
 Η γην θανοντες την δε φυρασειν φονω.

Æschyl. Sept. cont. Theb. ver. 42—48.

¹ A similar rite is described by Homer, who was considerably more ancient than Æschylus, as employed by the Greeks and the Trojans in the ratification of the covenant preparatory to the judicial combat of Menelaus and Paris. See *Iliad* lib. iii. ver. 264—301.

² Fuere eâ tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam, oratione habitâ, cum ad jusjurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem, vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse; inde, cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eo, dictitare, fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Sallust. de bell. Cat. § 22.

Doubtless many covenants are mentioned in Holy Scripture without any specific notice being taken of the ratifying sacrifice: but the mere silence of the inspired writer does by no means prove the absence of the ceremony; on the contrary, we may infer from those passages, wherein a *full* account of the matter is given, that sacrifice was the perpetual and regular concomitant.

2. Such was the ancient mode of ratifying covenants: and we are carefully to observe, what we shall find to be a circumstance of prime importance in the Apostle's argument, that the slaughter of the victims, over which and by which the covenant was made, was, in the strictest sense of the word, A SACRIFICE.

This vital position is established by the language, which the sacred writers invariably employ, whenever they describe the character of the victims slaughtered for the confirmation of a covenant: they always speak of those victims, as being A SACRIFICE *to the Lord*¹. Among the many passages which might be adduced in proof of such an assertion, there is one which particularly deserves our attention: because its phraseology most distinctly specifies the exact mode, in which covenants were wont to be ratified; and thence throws a strong light upon

¹ See Gen. viii. 20—22. and ix. 9—17. Gen. xxxi. 44 and 54. Exod. xix. 5. and xx. 24.

the strictly analogous phraseology and dependent argument of St. Paul in the passage now under consideration. In the fiftieth Psalm, Jehovah, according to our common English translation, is introduced as saying : *Gather my saints together unto me, those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice*¹. Now this version, though it expresses the *general* sense of the passage, does *not* express, what is most carefully set forth in the Hebrew original and what is most accurately preserved in the Greek version of the Seventy, the minutely *specific* mode in which covenants of old were ratified. The literal and the genuine translation of the text runs, as follows. *Gather unto me my saints, who have ratified my covenant OVER a sacrifice*². Here we have the exact ceremonial set forth before our very eyes. When a covenant was made, a victim was devoted as a sacrifice : and, OVER the dead victim thus devoted as a sacrifice, the covenant, not otherwise deemed firm and valid, was wont to be formally ratified.

The sum, therefore, of what has been said is this. In the making of an ancient covenant between two or more contracting parties, a vic-

¹ Psalm l. 5.

² The Hebrew reads עָלֵי זֶבֶח, which the Seventy accurately render by ἐπὶ θυσίαις. Dr. Spencer, with equal accuracy, translates the whole passage : *congregate mihi sanctos meos, qui pepigerunt mecum super sacrificium*. Spencer. de leg. Heb. rit. lib. iii. dissert. 2. cap. 3. sect. 2. p. 145.

tim was solemnly devoted. The victim, thus devoted, was esteemed a sacrifice. Over the dead victim, thus sacrificed, the covenant was ratified. And, *without* this ceremonial, that is to say, *without* the death of the victim and the rites concomitant, the covenant itself was not deemed firm and valid.

IV. These matters having been premised, I may now set forth what I conceive to be the proper version of that portion of the entire passage, throughout which our English translators, departing from their previous mode of interpretation without the slightest warrant from the original, have rendered the Greek word *Diathekè* by the English word *Testament*.

And, on this account, he is the mediator of the new Covenant; in order that, death having taken place for the redemption of the transgressions which were under the first Covenant, the called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance. For, where there is a covenant, there also it is necessary that the death of the ratifier should be¹. For a covenant

¹ Gr. *φερεσθαι*, literally, should be produced or proved or made apparent in open court. *Elsner*, says Dr. Doddridge, *hath shewn, that the word φερεσθαι is used in a forensic sense, for what is produced and proved and made apparent in a court of judicature.* *Observ.* vol. ii. p. 361. See also Parkhurst's Greek Lex. vox *φερομαι*. Hence it is said of Christ; *Him God raised up on the third day, and shewed him openly:* and again; *Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in his cross.* Acts x. 40. Col. ii. 15.

*over dead victims is valid: since it is of no strength, while the ratifier is living. Whereupon, neither was the first Covenant inaugurated without blood, For, every commandment according to the Law having been spoken by Moses to all the people, having taken the blood of calves and of goats with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, he sprinkled both the book itself and all the people, saying: This is the blood of the Covenant, which God hath enjoined to you*¹.

¹ Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης ἐστίν, ὅπως, θανάτου γενομένου εἰς ἀπολυτρώσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβασέων, τὴν εὐαγγελίαν λαβώσιν οἱ κεκλημένοι τῆς αἰωνίου κληρονομίας. Ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀναγκὴ φερεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου. Διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία· ἐπεὶ μὴ ποτε ἰσχύει, ὅτε ἕξ ὁ διαθεμένος. Ὅθεν οὐδ' ἡ πρώτη χωρὶς αἵματος ἐγκεκαίνισται. Λαληθείσης γὰρ πάσης ἐντολῆς κατὰ νόμον ὑπὸ Μωϋσεως παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, λαβὼν τὸ αἷμα τῶν βοσκῶν καὶ τραγῶν μετὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἐρίου κοκκίνου καὶ ὑσσώπου, αὐτὸ τε τὸ βιβλίον καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἐρράντισε, λέγων· Τοῦτο τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης, ἧς ἐνετείλατο πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός. Heb. ix. 15—20.

Mr. Wakefield translates the 16th and 17th verses nearly in the same manner with myself. *For, where a covenant is, there must be necessarily introduced the death of that which establisheth the covenant: because a covenant is confirmed over dead things; and is of no force at all, whilst that, which establisheth the covenant, is alive.*

The sense brought out is the same according to either translation, but I prefer my own version of *τοῦ διαθεμένου* and *ὁ διαθεμένος*. There is an ambiguity in the original, which I have endeavoured to express by my translation *the ratifier*: for *ὁ διαθεμένος* and *the ratifier* may, in the abstract, denote, either *one of the several parties who make the covenant* or *the victim which ratifies it by its death*. In the present passage, *ὁ διαθεμένος* is doubtless *the victim*, the ταυρὸς or the βοσκὸς or

Respecting this translation, it may be proper to make a few remarks.

1. The expression *to make* or *ratify a covenant*, and consequently the dependent expression *the maker* or *ratifier of a covenant*, are both, of necessity, ambiguous¹: and the ambiguity springs from the peculiarity of the form, by which the ancient covenants were wont to be made or ratified. As we have already seen, there were, in the first place, *the contracting parties between whom the covenant was made*: and, in the second place, there was *the victim by which the covenant was made*. Hence, either *the contracting parties themselves*, or *the slaughtered victim*, may be said *to make the covenant*: and hence, either *each individual of the contracting parties*, or *the slaughtered victim*, may be fitly styled *the ratifier of the covenant*².

Instances of each application of the phrase may, without much difficulty, be produced.

(1.) At the commencement of the apostolic argument which we are now discussing, we read: *This is the Covenant that I will make*³ *with*

the *τραγος*, as Mr. Wakefield rightly judges: but his neuter translation, *that which establisheth the covenant*, does not seem to me quite grammatically to express the masculine participle *ὁ διαθεμενος*.

¹ Gr. *διαθηκην διαθεσθαι* and *ὁ διαθηκην διαθεμενος*.

² Gr. *ὁ διαθεμενος*.

³ Gr. *αὐτῇ ἢ διαθηκῇ ἣν διαθεσομαι*.

*the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord*¹.

Here the person, who makes the covenant, is Jehovah, one of the contracting parties: and, if we should fill up the sentence according to the exact formula, we should say, that the Lord made a covenant with his people Israel over the dead bodies of the slaughtered victims.

(2.) In the fiftieth Psalm, we read: *Gather unto me my saints, who have ratified my Covenant*² *over a sacrifice*³.

Here the ratifier of the covenant is Israel collectively, another of the contracting parties: and here we have the sentence ready filled up to our hands, according to the exact formula of ratifying a covenant.

(3.) In the midst of the apostolic argument which we are now discussing, we read: *Where there is a covenant, there also it is necessary that the death of the ratifier*⁴ *should be*⁵.

Here the ratifier of the covenant is neither of the contracting parties, but the victim by which the covenant is made or ratified. For, that the victim is meant in the present passage by *the ratifier of the Covenant*, and not either of the two contracting parties, is abundantly plain from

¹ Heb. viii. 10.

² Gr. *τους διαθεμενους την διαθηκην*.

³ Psalm l. 5.

⁴ Gr. *του διαθεμενου*.

⁵ Heb. ix. 16.

the very reason of the thing. St. Paul makes a general assertion, respecting the principle on which *all* covenants were ratified of old : *WHEREVER there is a covenant, there also must be the death of the ratifier*. Now, if by *the ratifier* the apostle meant one of the contracting parties, his assertion most assuredly would not be true : for there is clearly no necessity whatever, that, when two contracting parties make a covenant (as for instance, Abraham and Abimelech, or Jacob and Laban¹), one of these two parties should be put to death. But, if neither of the contracting parties be meant by the phrase, then the slaughtered victim, by which the Covenant was ratified, can alone be intended. And, accordingly, when the passage is *so* understood, the Apostle both asserts an universally acknowledged truth, and (as we shall presently see) lays down premises from which he argues most victoriously to the nature of the two particular Covenants Levitical and Christian².

¹ Gen. xxi. 22—32. xxxi. 44—54.

² I am no way singular in my opinion, that by *the ratifier* (του διαθεμενου) of the sixteenth verse, we ought to understand *the slaughtered victim by which the covenant was ratified*: the very same application of the phrase, as I have already observed, is made by Mr. Wakefield ; and it is likewise made both by Mr. Peirce and Dr. Doddridge. The former of these two, on the authority of a passage in Appian, would translate τὸ διαθεμενὸν *of the pacifier* or *of that sacrifice which is appointed by God to pacify*: whence he would render the lat-

2. In the seventeenth verse, I supply the substantive *victims* after the adjective *dead*.

For a covenant over dead victims is valid: since it is of no strength, while the ratifier is living.

That by *the dead* are meant *the dead victims*, which the contracting parties had sacrificed, is clear, both from the whole drift of the argument, and from the very phraseology employed by St. Paul.

If *the ratifier*, whose death was necessary for the legal validity of the covenant, be *the sacrificed victim over which the covenant was made*; a point, respecting which I can entertain no doubt: then *the dead*, over which the covenant is declared to be valid, can only be *the dead victims which had been sacrificed*; the covenant itself being invalid, while the ratifier was living.

Accordingly, the very phraseology employed by the Apostle distinctly points out to us, what we are to understand by *the dead*. The Psalmist, as his meaning is most accurately explained by

ter part of the seventeenth verse; *The pacifier can do nothing as long as he liveth*. The latter would translate the verse, in which τὸ διαθεμενον occurs: *For, where a covenant is, it necessarily imports the death of that by which the covenant is confirmed*. Whatever may be thought of the gloss of Mr. Peirce, which (so far as I can judge) is rendered inadmissible by the turn of the Greek expressions διαθηκην διαθεσθαι and ὁ διαθηκην διαθεμενος, still both he and Dr. Doddridge agree with Mr. Wakefield in the supposition that St. Paul is speaking of a sacrificed victim.

the Greek of the Seventy, introduces the Lord as saying: *Gather unto me my saints, who have ratified my Covenant OVER A SACRIFICE*¹. St. Paul, in a similar manner, who writes in Greek and to whom the Greek version of the Seventy was perfectly familiar, argues: that *a covenant OVER THE DEAD is valid*², *since it is of no strength while the ratifier is living*. Precisely the same Greek preposition is used both by the Seventy and by the Apostle, and *that* too in precisely the same context; for both are alike speaking of the ratification of a covenant. The phrase therefore of the Apostle, OVER THE DEAD, will obviously be the best explained by the phrase of the Seventy, OVER A SACRIFICE: whence I think it sufficiently clear, that the two manifestly parallel phrases bear the very same meaning. Such being the case, I conceive that we are fully at liberty to supply the substantive *victims* after the adjective *dead* and thus to explain the original phrase as denoting *over the dead victims*³.

¹ Heb. *עָלֵי זֶבַח*: Gr. *ἐπὶ θυσιας*: Lat. of Dr. Spencer, *super sacrificium*.

² Gr. *ἐπὶ νεκροῖς*.

³ Some have supposed, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew and was afterward translated into Greek. For this opinion there seems to be no very clear warrant; but, even if we admit its propriety, my argument from identity of expression will not be materially altered. The Seventy thought *ἐπὶ θυσιας* the most proper translation of *עָלֵי זֶבַח*, in Psalm l. 5. Hence we may con-

3. It may be thought a difficulty, that the Greek word¹, which I translate *the ratifier* or *the maker* and which I apply to the sacrificed victim over whose dead body the covenant was made or ratified, should be expressed in the masculine gender and not in the neuter.

This difficulty, if it be a difficulty, strikes me as being by no means insurmountable. In the Greek language, the names of the clean animals devoted to sacrifice, as they are set forth by St. Paul both before and after the passage which contains the word now under consideration, are of the masculine gender². Hence, when he speaks of some one of these animals being used as the ratifier of a covenant, he very naturally and grammatically writes the participle, which I translate *the ratifier*, in the masculine gender also. The sacrificial ratifier was a bull or a calf or a goat. But the Greek names of all these animals are masculine. There-

clude, if the Epistle to the Hebrews was *really* first written in Hebrew, that the translator's *ἐπι νεκροῖς*, in Heb. ix. 17, would answer to the original expression; just as the *ἐπι θυσιαῖς* of the Seventy, in Psalm l. 5, answers to the original expression *עַל־זֶבֶח*. In that case, St. Paul must have written *עַל־מָתִים*, of which *ἐπι νεκροῖς* would be a faithful and analogous version. Thus again, the two expressions, *עַל־זֶבֶח* in Psalm l. 5, and *עַל־מָתִים* in Heb. ix. 17, will be strictly parallel.

¹ Gr. *τε διαθεμένε* and *ὁ διαθεμενος*.

² Gr. *ταυρος*, *μοσχός*, and *τραγός*. Heb. ix. 12, 13, 19.

fore the participle, denoting *the ratifier*, is masculine likewise¹.

V. The reasoning of the Apostle, throughout the entire passage contained in the eighth and ninth chapters of his Epistle to the Hebrews, will now at length, I apprehend, stand forth with abundant cogency and plainness.

1. Of the argument itself, the basis will be found in the sixteenth and seventeenth verses of the ninth chapter.

Where there is a covenant, there also it is necessary that the death of the ratifier should be. For a covenant over dead victims is valid: since it is of no strength, while the ratifier is living.

The assertion, contained in this portion of Holy Writ, is a *general* one. St. Paul is not speaking of this covenant or of that covenant in *particular*, but of ALL covenants as they were wont of old to be ratified. Hence he must be understood, as arguing, from the well-known and universally received mode of ratifying a covenant in GENERAL, to the exactly similar mode of ratifying the Levitical and the Christian covenants in PARTICULAR.

2. His reasoning therefore, if thrown into a syllogistic form, will be to the following effect.

¹ The expression, if completed, would run, *τὸ διαθεμὲν ταυρὸς* or *μοσχὸς* or *τραγὸς*, according to the animal sacrificed in the ratification of any particular covenant.

All covenants are ratified over a sacrifice: and they are valid only over the dead victims, which have been sacrificially devoted; for they are no way binding, while the ratifier is living. But the Levitical Dispensation and the Christian Dispensation are each a covenant between God and man. Therefore each of these two particular covenants must have been ratified over a sacrifice: and they are valid only over the dead victims, which have been sacrificially devoted; for they are no way binding, while the ratifier is living.

3. Such, if I mistake not, is the argument of the Apostle, when condensed within the narrow limits of a syllogism. But let us see, how far this statement of it will agree with the drift of the general context, both previous and subsequent to the text which is supposed to be the basis of the argument.

(1.) Now the drift of the general context, which is antecedent to the text in question, is this.

Under the first Covenant typically, an atonement is made for sinners by the blood of the slaughtered victims: the contracting parties, God and the collective house of Israel, pledging themselves to each other, over the dead victims, to abide by the terms of the Covenant; the victims themselves, in virtue of their typical character, acting as mediators or forming the medium of acceptance between the two con-

tracting parties; and the Covenant itself being invalid, except in so far as the victims are sacrificially slaughtered. Whence, as we have seen, the Lord says, in the fiftieth Psalm; *Gather unto me my saints, who have ratified my Covenant over a sacrifice.*

In a similar manner, under the new Covenant, which God, by the mouth of his prophet Jeremiah as quoted in the present passage by St. Paul, had promised as a successor to the first Covenant, an atonement is really and antitypically made for sinners by the blood of the one sacrificed victim Christ: the contracting parties, God and the Church, pledging themselves to each other, over the dead victim Christ, to abide by the terms of the Covenant, namely eternal salvation to all true and practical believers; the victim Christ himself, the antitype of every typical victim, acting as a mediator or forming the medium of acceptance between God and the Church; and the Covenant being invalid, except in so far as the victim Christ is sacrificially slaughtered. Whence the Apostle argues: *If the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God*¹.

¹ Heb. ix. 13, 14. St. Paul, in fact, builds his argument upon the respective declarations of Moses and Christ them-

(2.) Such I take to be the drift of the general antecedent context ; which sets forth the strictly analogous mode wherein the two Covenants, Levitical and Christian, were ratified. These matters being premised, the Apostle next goes on to shew, that the mode of ratifying those two Covenants, namely over the dead bodies of victims devoted in sacrifice, was no other than the established mode of ratifying ALL covenants in the ancient world : whence he takes occasion to employ that style of reasoning, which argues (as I have already observed) from *generals* to *particulars*.

And, on this account, Christ is the mediator of the new Covenant ; in order that, death having taken place for the redemption of the transgressions which

selves. *Moses, as he observes, having taken the blood of calves and of goats with water and scarlet wool and hyssop, sprinkled both the book itself and all the people, saying : This is the blood of the Covenant, which God hath enjoined to you.* Such was the inauguration of the Levitical Covenant : and, in the inauguration of the Christian, our Lord has studiously adopted and applied to his own death the language of the Hebrew legislator. *And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying : Drink ye all of it ; for this is my blood of the new Covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* Matt. xxvi. 27, 28. Here Christ virtually declares, that his own blood bore exactly the same relation to the new Covenant as the blood of calves and of goats did to the Levitical Covenant : whence St. Paul takes occasion to argue most strongly from the less to the greater.

were under the first Covenant, the called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance. For, where there is a covenant, there also it is necessary that the death of the ratifier should be. For a covenant over dead victims is valid: since it is of no strength, while the ratifier is living.

Here the train of reasoning perfectly agrees with the preceding context: for, in fact, it is no other than a continuation of the argument; or rather, to speak somewhat more precisely, it is a logical arrangement of *particulars* under a *general*.

The typical mediators of the first Covenant were animal victims: and it was necessary, that the death of these victims, which ratified the Covenant, should take place. For, agreeably to the universally received principle of covenanting, a covenant (that is, any covenant in general, and therefore the Levitical Covenant in particular) could be valid only over the dead: it was of no efficacy, while its appointed ratifier was alive. Analogously to this, as substance answers to shadow, the antitypical mediator of the new Covenant was Christ: whence the conditions of the new Covenant must answer throughout to the conditions of the first Covenant. *And, ON THIS ACCOUNT¹, he is the mediator of the new Covenant; in order that, death having taken place* (primarily, the death of the animal victims; secondarily, the death of the human

¹ Gr. *δια τουτο*.

victim) *for the redemption of the transgressions which were under the first Covenant, the called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance. For, where there is a covenant* (that is to say, any covenant framed on the then universally received principle of covenanting), *there also it is necessary, that the death of the ratifier should be: for* (as all acknowledge) *a covenant over the dead is valid* (whether the immolated victim be an animal or a man); *since it is of no strength, while the ratifier is living.*

WHEREUPON OR WHENCE, as the Apostle proceeds very logically to conclude from the specified and well known principle of general covenanting: WHEREUPON, *neither was the first Covenant inaugurated without blood.* The reason of which conclusion is obviously found in the text, which I deem the basis of his argument. *Where there is a covenant, there also it is necessary that the death of the ratifier should be: for a covenant over dead victims is valid; since it is of no strength, while the ratifier is living.* WHEREUPON, *neither was the first Covenant inaugurated without blood:* because, unless blood had been shed, the typical ratifiers of that Covenant would have been left alive; and, consequently, the Covenant itself, being valid only over the dead victims, would plainly, on the acknowledged principles of covenant-making, have been of no strength or efficacy.

Having advanced thus far in his reasoning, St.

Paul concludes the whole argument with shewing: that, as the Christian Dispensation was a covenant no less than the Levitical Dispensation, the new Covenant must needs have been established upon the same general principle as the first Covenant. But the general principle, upon which the first Covenant was established, was the sacrificial slaughter of a ratifying victim. Therefore, upon the self-same general principle of sacrificially slaughtering a ratifying victim, must the new Covenant also have been established.

VI. The learned Spencer, arguing from the undoubted priority of the sacrificial rite of covenant-making to the promulgation of the Law from mount Sinai, would thence conclude, agreeably to the well-known principle of his elaborate work, that the rite in question, like many other rites of the ceremonial Law, was borrowed from the Gentiles; and that God adopted it, as he did various other ordinances, in condescension to the obtuseness of the people with whom he had to deal¹.

¹ *Sacrificia fœderalia* (h. e. ad fœdus consignandum aut confirmandum oblata) Lege Moses antiquiora fuisse, et a seculi consuetudine in mores Hebræorum venisse, censeantur. Victimæ fœderales apud Hebræos in usum tam crebrum abiere, quod Medus noster, sacrificium, *oblationem* tantum *fœderalem* censuerit, et ita definiendum: *Sacrificium est oblatio in Dei honorem facta, qua offerens particeps evadit mensæ Dei, in signum amicitiae et fœderis cum illo initi.* Quicquid

This argument, in order to be coherent with the general plan of the work, must be built upon the presumption, that the sacrificial rite of covenant-making was INVENTED by the Gentiles: for, while it is readily acknowledged or rather indeed strenuously maintained that it was USED by them from the most remote antiquity, the mere circumstance of the USE most undoubtedly will not prove the INVENTION; and, unless the INVENTION be proved, the conclu-

sit, sacrificium in fœderibus sancientibus ab Hebræis frequenter usurpatum, patet e Psalmistæ verbis: *Congregate mihi sanctos meos, qui pepigerunt mecum super sacrificium.* Alia testimonia sub manu habeo, quæ, ne lectorem rebus obviis obtundam, prætermitto. Sacrificia vero, in fœderibus cum Deo vel homine feriendis, diu ante Legem usitata fuisse, fidem indubitata facit Historia Sacra; nempe Gen. xv. 9. ubi Deus, cum Abrahamo fœdus initurus, ait, *Offer mihi* (sic verba transferenda docet Chaldæus) *vitulam, capram, et arietem.* Iis itaque dissectis et oblatis, Deus, in imagine lampadis ardentis, inter sacrificii partes medius transiisse, et *fœdus cum Abrahamo fecisse*, dicitur. Cum etiam Jacob et Laban in perpetuum fœdus amicitiamque firmandam consensissent, Jacob, ut fœderi eo major fides accederet, *victimam mactavit*, et Labanem cum cognatis suis ad epulum *θυσιασμον* convocavit. Hic autem, si Scriptura tacuisset, facile credi posset, antiquos, ante datam Legem, sacrificia fœderum solennitatibus adhibuisse, quod hostias fœderales, ab ultima vetustate, receptas et usitatas inveniamus. Hoc omnibus innotescit, qui ullum cum literis sacris aut profanis commercium habuere. Ut absolvam paucis: si veterum scripta evolvamus, raro sacrificia sine convivio, rarissimè fœdera sine sacrificio, facta reperiamus. Spencer. de leg. Heb. rit. lib. iii. dissert. 2. cap. 3. sect. 2. p. 145, 146.

sion, that the ceremony was adopted from the ritual of the Gentiles into the ritual of the Jews, will plainly be invalid.

Now, though I have supposed the Apostle to argue (after the manner of men) from the *general* mode of ratifying covenants to the *particular* mode of ratifying the Levitical and Christian Covenants, I do not conceive that this affords any warrant for the opinion, that *the mode itself* was in the first instance a mere arbitrary human invention. So far as we can learn from Scripture (and Scripture is our only sure guide in matters of such high antiquity), instead of saying with Dr. Spencer that the rite was borrowed by God from man, I should much rather say that the rite was borrowed by man from God: in other words, I should say, that, in the first instance and at an era long prior to the promulgation of the Mosaical Law, God, not man, was the INVENTER of the rite.

In all the three divine Covenants, Patriarchal, Levitical, and Christian (the two former, as I have supposed, being collectively viewed by St. Paul as the first or the old Covenant), the mediator or victim-ratifier was still, effectively and substantially, the same; even *Christ* who *was once offered to bear the sins of many*¹: but, since Christ was *only* once offered, and *that* for the ratification of the Christian Covenant, the formal rati-

¹ Heb. ix. 28.

fiers of the other two Covenants were of necessity certain typical sacrifices ; for, unless this expedient had been adopted, the two earlier Covenants must have been wholly without any formal and visible ratification. Now, that the Levitical Covenant was ratified by sacrifice, we are expressly assured : and I think we may gather not obscurely, that such also was the case with the Patriarchal Covenant ; for, as it has often been remarked, we shall not easily account for the appearance of those skins with which our first parents are said to have been clad, unless we suppose them to have been taken from certain animals which were sacrificed at the ratification of that Covenant. But, however this may be, we find God immediately after the deluge, expressly entering into a covenant with Noah and ritually confirming it over a sacrifice. Under such circumstances, I think it clear and indisputable, that the Gentiles did not themselves INVENT the rite ; but that, in all the different lines which were evolved from Noah, they continued to observe a ceremonial originally instituted by God himself. The primitive idea of the rite immediately respected the doctrine of *an atonement through the death of a promised Redeemer* : and the grand Covenant between God and man was accordingly made over a slaughtered victim, which either typified the Messiah or was the Messiah himself. From this its original application, the rite was afterwards trans-

ferred to *any* covenant ; as we may see, in the case of God's covenant with Noah immediately after the deluge, and in the several cases of Abraham's covenant with Abimelech and Jacob's covenant with Laban : the notion, however, both of a proper sacrifice and of a mediator between the contracting parties, was carefully preserved. The transfer itself took place in the deepest antiquity : and, so far as Scripture teaches us in its account of the Noëtic covenant, it took place under the direct sanction of the Lord. For the first notice, which we have of a covenant ratified over a sacrifice subsequent to the primeval ratification of the Patriarchal Covenant with fallen man, is that of the covenant, into which God himself entered with Noah that there should never more be a flood to destroy the earth. From the Scripture therefore I conclude, that, when the Lord was pleased to ratify the Levitical Covenant over a sacrifice, he did not borrow the peculiar ceremony from the Gentiles ; but, on the contrary, that the Gentiles, who sprang from Noah, borrowed the ceremony from the long-remembered primitive institution of the Lord himself¹.

¹ Hence the sacred ship, commemorative of the ark, was denominated *Baris* or *Barit* (as may be gathered from its Greek oblique case *Baridos*, and as indeed follows of course from the circumstance of the letters *s* and *t* being convertible) : that is to say, in allusion to God's covenant with Noah, it was styled *the ship of the covenant*. See my *Origin of Pagan Idol.* book ii. chap. 4. § IV. 4.

VII. The point, most decidedly established by the whole discussion, is this: that *the slaughter of Christ our Saviour was a true and proper and literal sacrifice*; not a sacrifice, in the figurative or rather the unintelligible sense for which the Socinians contend¹.

¹ The Socinians have invented various glosses, much on a par with each other in point of critical merit, by the aid of which they may elude the express scriptural declaration, that the death of Christ was a sacrifice for sin.

1. Sometimes we are told, that Christ is figuratively called *a sacrifice*, in the same manner as our prayers and praises are called *sacrifices*.

This gloss must remain wholly unintelligible, until the analogy between the piacular death of a human victim and the eucharistic oblation of prayers and praises shall have been pointed out. If the gloss mean any thing, it must mean this: that, as the figurative sacrifice of prayers and praises serves to render the Deity propitious to the offerer, so the figurative sacrifice of Christ serves to render the Deity propitious to the universal Church. How such an effect was produced by the alleged figurative sacrifice of Christ, it remains for the Socinians to inform us.

2. At other times we are told, that Christ is figuratively called *a sacrifice*, because he was an example of patient suffering for his religion: and this example, we are assured, was *a noble sacrifice indeed*.

It is an easy matter to string words together: but it is not equally easy to transmute nonsense into sense. What rational idea is it possible to annex to the proposition, that *an example is a sacrifice*? If Christ were a sacrifice, *because* he was an example: then were the bullocks and goats, slaughtered under the Law, severally a sacrifice, *because* they were severally an example; for we are expressly taught in Scripture, that the sacrifice of Christ and the sacrifices of the animal-victims

As we have already seen, the argument of the Apostle is to the following effect.

All covenants are ratified over a sacrifice. But the Levitical Dispensation and the Christian Dispensation are alike a covenant between God and man. Therefore each of these two particular covenants must have been ratified over a sacrifice.

Such is the argument. But, if we deny Christ to be a sacrifice in the very self-same sense in

under the Law were homogeneous in point of nature, whatever that precise nature may be. Hence, if the sacrifice of Christ were an example of patient suffering for *his* religion, the sacrifices of animals under the Law must have been so many examples of patient suffering for *their* religion: and these examples, set by the animals (I suppose we must add to complete the parallelism), were *a noble sacrifice indeed*.

3. At other times again we are told, that Christ is figuratively called *a sacrifice*, because (as we familiarly speak) he fell a sacrifice to his opinions.

If this be the case, then, since the sacrifice of Christ and the sacrifice of the Levitical victims are invariably described in Scripture as being homogeneous, we shall be brought to the prodigious conclusion that the bullocks and the goats are figuratively denominated *sacrifices*, because they each fell a sacrifice to the opinions which they promulgated.

4. What may be at present the standard doctrine of the Socinian School as to the nature of Christ's sacrifice, I know not. Leaving it to the builders of this spiritual Babel to understand each other's speech as best they may, it is sufficient for the Christian to learn on inspired authority, that, as the Levitical high-priest entered into the most holy place every year with the blood of others, so *now once in the end of the world hath Christ appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself*. Heb. ix. 25, 26.

which every federal victim was a sacrifice, we plainly make the argument altogether null and inconclusive. Its whole construction necessarily requires, that the victims over which all covenants in general were ratified, the victims over which the Levitical Covenant in particular was ratified, and the victim over which the Christian Covenant in particular was ratified, should all be viewed under one and the same aspect. Hence, if the victim in one case be a proper sacrifice, the victim in every other case must be a proper sacrifice also : and, conversely, if we deny the victim in one case to be a proper sacrifice, we must deny the victim in every other case also to be a proper sacrifice. It follows therefore, from the necessity of the Apostle's argument, that those, who deny the victim Christ to be a proper sacrifice, stand pledged also to deny the sacrificial nature both of the devotements over which the Levitical Covenant was ratified and of the devotements over which every other covenant was anciently ratified : for, if Christ were a sacrifice only in some unintelligibly figurative sense, then every other federal victim was a sacrifice only in the same unintelligibly figurative sense whatever that precise sense may be. Thus, upon the Socinian scheme, when the Lord says ; *Gather unto me my saints, who have ratified my Covenant over a sacrifice* : we must not rashly imagine, that the sacrifice spoken of was a proper sacrifice ; but we must pronounce it to be

merely a figurative sacrifice, strictly analogous to the figurative sacrifice of Christ. Thus, upon the same scheme, when God ratifies a covenant between himself and Noah over every clean beast and every clean fowl which the patriarch offered up as burnt-offerings upon the altar constructed for that purpose: we are not to suppose, that any proper sacrifice was devoted on this occasion; but we must rest assured, that the victims constituted a sacrifice purely in a figurative sense. And thus, not to multiply instances, when Jacob and Laban ratified a covenant between themselves over the sacrifice which was offered on the mount: we must be cautious how we say, that any proper sacrifice was offered up; we must rather conclude, that, exactly in the same figurative sense in which Christ is styled *a sacrifice*, are the victims which were devoted by Jacob, also denominated *a sacrifice*.

These are the glaring absurdities, into which we are inevitably brought by an adoption of the Socinian scheme: for they plainly can not be avoided, unless the whole argument of the Apostle be completely stultified. But let his argument be viewed only, as common sense requires it to be viewed; and the conclusion, as to the true sacrificial nature of Christ's death, is irresistible.

Every covenant was ratified over a true and proper sacrifice. But the Levitical Dispensation and the Christian Dispensation were each a

covenant between God and man. Therefore each of these two particular covenants must have been ratified over a true and proper sacrifice. Now, that the victims, over which the Levitical Covenant was ratified, constituted a true and proper sacrifice, is indubitable and indisputable. Therefore, finally, the victim Christ, over whom the Christian Covenant was ratified, can only (unless we make the whole apostolic argument null and inconclusive) be viewed as A TRUE AND PROPER AND LITERAL SACRIFICE.

CHAPTER III.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE ONLY TRUE GOD AND OF JESUS IN HIS CHARACTER OF THE PROMISED MESSIAH THE SEED OF THE WOMAN IS THE BASIS OF ETERNAL LIFE.

THE Apostle St. John has recorded, with great copiousness, the last discourse which our blessed Saviour held with his disciples immediately before his crucifixion. This, as we might well expect, is very full and explicit upon various matters of the highest importance. Among others, which come not under our present consideration, it sets forth, with singular distinctness and precision, the doctrinal basis of that eternal life, which was alike the final object of all the three Dispensations, and which our Lord had received power to communicate unto all his faithful servants.

These words spake Jesus, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said: Father, the hour is come; glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee: as thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him.

*And this is life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent*¹.

The knowledge then of the only true God, and the additional knowledge of Jesus in his character of the Christ or the Messiah sent by the true God, is the doctrinal basis of eternal life. Neither of these two is sufficient without the other. It is not enough to know the only true God, while Jesus of Nazareth is rejected as the promised Messiah: nor is it sufficient to receive Jesus of Nazareth as the promised Messiah, while the only true God is either unknown in his nature or is associated in our adoration with those that are not gods. The two must be joined together: we must alike know the only true God and Jesus the Christ whom the only true God has sent.

Hitherto the matter is perfectly plain: but there is a peculiarity in the form of the proposition, which writers of the Socinian school have eagerly seized upon, and which therefore requires a very careful discussion.

Our Lord is addressing his heavenly Father: *Father*, says he, *the hour is come; glorify thy Son*. Now, in the course of his address, the proposition before us is enunciated: *This is life eternal, that they might know THEE the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent*. The address therefore being made to God the Father, it fol-

¹ John xvii. 1—3.

lows that God the Father is declared to be the only true God. Hence it is argued by Socinian writers, that, since the Father is declared to be the ONLY true God, our Saviour Christ and the Holy Ghost are NOT truly God; real and essential divinity being ascribed by Jesus himself to the Father ALONE. Consequently, we are bound to conclude, that the man Jesus is a *mere* man, and that the Holy Ghost is either a divine attribute or a synonymn of the Father.

This argument, incomparably the best (I think) of the Socinian School, possesses so much plausibility, that at the first sight it may well startle even the soundest believer: it will be useful therefore, both to point out its fallacy, and to exhibit the true interpretation of the passage upon which it is founded.

I. Its fallacy lies in a palpable mistatement of our Lord's very precise and accurate language.

Christ, in the form of an address, declares, that *his Father is the only true God*. Such is the declaration of Christ: and it is a declaration, to which his faithful Church in all ages most cheerfully and devoutly subscribes. But his Socinian commentators, as the necessity indeed of their argument imperiously requires, virtually represent him as declaring, that *his Father only is the true God*.

Now, between these two propositions, *The Father is the only true God* and *The Father only is the true God*, there is a very radical and essential

difference. The first of them is laid down by our Lord ; and it speaks an undoubted verity : the second is laid down by Socinian commentators ; and it speaks an undoubted falsehood.

1. Our Lord asserts, that *the Father is the only true God*. This assertion, if analysed, will prove to be in reality a complication of two assertions.

The former of the two assertions is, that *there is an only true God* : the latter of the two assertions is, that *the Father is this only true God*. Both are equally indisputable : nor will it be found, that any orthodox believer is at all disposed to controvert either of them, though he is unable to discover how they in any wise promote the cause of Socinianism.

For who would dream of controverting the proposition, that *there is an only true God* ? Certainly no man, who holds from Scripture the vital doctrine of *the blessed Trinity in Unity* ; who holds from Scripture the vital doctrine, that there is one God mysteriously existing in what (from the poverty of human language) the Church is wont to denominate *three persons* or *hypostases*.

Or who again would dream of controverting the proposition, that *the Father is the only true God* ? Certainly no sound believer in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity : for, if he denied the Father to be the only true God, he would run directly counter to his own avowed principles.

But, while he thus confesses that *there is an only true God* and that *the Father is this only true*

God: he is quite unable to discover, how he thereby yields up any vantage-ground to the advocates of Socinianism. For what in nature is the only true God, whom he confesses? In his Bible, he finds the Father styled *God*, the Son styled *God*, and the Holy Ghost styled *God*: in his Bible, he finds the Father distinguished by divine attributes, the Son distinguished by divine attributes, the Holy Ghost distinguished by divine attributes: in his Bible, he finds, that one only true God is declared to exist, and that all the gods of the nations are pronounced to be mere vanity. Hence he concludes, nor can he reject the conclusion without rejecting the scriptural premises themselves: hence he concludes, that the only true God is the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost incomprehensibly existing in a Tri-Unity, and that there is no other true God save this. But, if he be led to such a conclusion, then of course he must receive as an undoubted truth our Lord's declaration, that *the Father is the only true God*. This however will not, in the slightest degree, affect his belief in the doctrine of *the Trinity in Unity*. For, holding the doctrine of *a divine Unity existing in a divine Trinity*, and thence holding the doctrine that *the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are the only true God*; he of necessity holds *also* the doctrine that *EACH of those three divine persons is the only true God*. Hence, the circumstance of his holding, that *the Father is the only true God*,

does not prevent his likewise holding, that *the Son is the only true God* and that *the Holy Ghost is the only true God*: so far from it indeed, the very catholic doctrine of *the Trinity* itself absolutely requires him to make such a confession respecting each of the three divine persons. For, if he believe that *the only true God is the Trinity in Unity*; how can he deny, that *the only true God is each person of that Trinity*? In other words, if he believe that *the Trinity in Unity is the only true God*; how can he deny, that *the Father is the only true God*, that *the Son is the only true God*, and that *the Holy Ghost is the only true God*? Should he hazard any such denial (which God forbid!), he would be guilty of a palpable self-contradiction. For, as he holds, that *there is one only true God*, and that *this only true God is the Trinity in Unity*; if he denied any one of the three persons of the Trinity to be this only true God, he would assert and deny in the same breath¹.

¹ To this purpose speaks what is justly made the first Article of the English Church. *There is but one living and true God; everlasting; without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And, in unity of this Godhead, there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* If then there be but one only living and true God, and if this one only true God exist in three persons; it must inevitably follow, that all and each of the three persons is the one only living and true God. For, if any one of the three divine per-

2. Thus does the proposition laid down by our Lord, that *the Father is the only true God*, speak an undoubted verity.

The Socinian, on the contrary, puts into his mouth an assertion, which he never made; an assertion, which is an undoubted falsehood.

Had our Lord *indeed* asserted, that *the Father only is the true God*, Socinianism must in that case have been received as orthodoxy: for our Lord would then have asserted, that *no person, except the Father only, is the true God*; a declaration, which would obviously have shut out, not merely the false gods of Paganism, but likewise the Son and the Holy Ghost. Since however his real assertion is, that *the Father is the only true God*: we must learn what this only true God is, before we take upon us to deny from the present passage the deity of the Son and the Holy Spirit. To argue in favour of Socinianism from the passage abstractedly were a complete begging of the question. The Socinians must prove from some other passage of Scripture, that the only true God exists in no more than a single person, before they can be allowed to produce the present passage as

sons be not the one only true God, that person must be a false god. But this is expressly contradicted by the very tenor of the statement, which sets forth, that there is one only true God, and that this one only true God exists in three persons. Therefore, as before, each divine person is the one only true God.

affording any warrant for the tenet that *the Father alone is the true God*. The Father, as our Lord teaches us, is doubtless the only true God. But then what is the only true God? The Socinians assert, that he is one God existing in one person exclusively: the catholic Church asserts, that he is one God existing in three persons. Hence it is plain, on the principles of sound reasoning, that, before the Socinians can have any right to pronounce the proposition *The Father is the only true God* equivalent to the proposition *The Father only is the true God*, they must prove *aliundè* that the only true God exists in no more than a single person: for, until this be done, their exposition of the present passage is at once a complete fallacy and a mere begging of the question¹.

3. With what emolument the advocates of Socinianism will search the Scriptures for a declaration, that *the only true God exists in no more than a single person*, it concerns themselves

¹ *There is a vast difference*, observes Mr. Leslie, *betwixt saying, that he is the only true God, and that he only is the true God. There is but one only true God, or one divine nature: and each of the persons doth partake of this nature, that is, is this one only true God. But then you must not say of any of the persons, that he only is this God; because the other persons do partake of the same nature, and so are the same God.* Socinian Controver. Dial. iv. p. 306. vol. i. See the preface to the Bishop of St. David's Tracts on the divinity of Christ. p. xlviii—liii.

to try: as for those who adhere to the doctrine of the catholic Church, they will find no great difficulty in shewing on scriptural authority, that *the only true God exists in three united though distinct persons*. Our Lord asserts, that *the Father is the only true God*: and, agreeably to the principle on which I contend that this assertion ought to be explained, I have ventured to state, that with equal verity and propriety we may say, that *the Son is the only true God*, and that *the Holy Ghost is the only true God*; for, if the only true God be the Trinity in Unity, then the only true God must be each person of the Trinity alike.

Let us now see, whether the statement which I have ventured to make, be not fully confirmed by the testimony of Scripture.

(1.) Respecting the proposition, that *the Father is the only true God*, there is no dispute. Our Lord asserts it; and the Socinians receive it, though they choose to explain it in their own way. The Father therefore, as it is admitted by all, is the only true God.

(2.) Respecting the proposition, that *the Son is the only true God*, we must search the Scripture. Now this proposition the members of the holy catholic Church conceive themselves to find in the Bible, no less than the former proposition.

In the Scriptures of the Old Covenant, they

find it written; *I am Jehovah thy God; thou shalt have no other gods before me*¹: and again; *Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God is one Jehovah; ye shall not go after other gods of the gods of the people which are round about you*²: and again; *Is there a god beside me? Yea, there is no god; I know not any*³: and again; *There is no god else beside one, a just God and a Saviour; there is none beside me; for I am God, and there is none else*⁴: and again; *I am God, and there is none else; I am God, and there is none like me*⁵.

It will not, I presume, be denied, that the Being, who is spoken of in these several passages, is the only true God: and it will as little, I presume, be denied, that these several passages most expressly *declare* the Being spoken of to be the only true God; that they *declare* it (in short) quite as expressly, as our Lord *declares* it of the Father. This, I apprehend, will not be denied either by Socinians or by their opponents. The only question therefore is, *Who is the Being thus expressly declared to be the only true God?* To such a question both the Socinians and their opponents will alike reply, that the Being thus characterized is without all doubt Jehovah the God of Israel. Here, however, another question arises: *Who is Jehovah the God*

¹ Exod. xx. 2, 3.

² Deut. vi. 4, 14.

³ Isaiah xlv. 8.

⁴ Isaiah xlv. 21, 22.

⁵ Isaiah xlv. 9.

of Israel ; that Jehovah, who is thus expressly declared to be the only true God ? This question will probably be deemed superfluous by a Socinian : but, let it be or be not superfluous, there can at least be no harm in seeking for a scriptural answer to it. *Who then is Jehovah, the God of Israel ?* Doubtless the God of Israel is the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob ¹. *But who is the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob ?* A Socinian will of course reply, that he is the Father, and no other person, respecting whom Christ declared that he is the only true God : yet we do not find this reply given in Scripture by the mouth of the patriarch Jacob and by the mouth of the prophet Hosea, each speaking under the influence of divine inspiration. Jacob and Hosea concur in declaring, that the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob is a certain angel or messenger ; before whom Abraham and Isaac did walk, who fed Jacob all his life long, who redeemed Jacob from all evil, with whom Jacob had power and prevailed, and who yet is Jehovah the God of hosts ². *Who then can this angel or messenger be, who is thus declared to be the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and who is explicitly described as being Jehovah the only true God ?* If he be an angel or messenger, he must clearly

¹ Exod. iii. 15.

² Gen. xlviii. 15, 16. xxxii. 24—30. Hosea xii. 2—5.

be sent by some one: for it is a palpable contradiction in terms, to style any person *a messenger*, and yet to assert that no one sends him; the very name of *messenger* obviously and necessarily implies *a sender*. Such being the case, *who is the sender of that messenger, whom Jacob and Hosea positively declare to be at once the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Jehovah the God of Hosts?* This question is resolved by the prophets Zechariah and Malachi: for they teach us, that the messenger of the covenant, though himself Jehovah and the God of Israel, is nevertheless sent, in his quality of a messenger, by Jehovah¹. Here, most unequivocally, we have two distinct persons, *a sender* and *a sent*: each of whom is declared to be Jehovah; and the latter of whom, or Jehovah the messenger, is declared by Jacob and Hosea to be the God of Israel. *Who then finally is this Jehovah the messenger: who is sent by Jehovah the God of hosts; who is declared by Jacob and Hosea to be the God of Israel; who is described, as the messenger of the covenant, or as the messenger of the presence of Jehovah; and who repeatedly and most explicitly claims to be the only true God?* According to Malachi and Haggai, he is a Being: who is characterized, as the desire of all nations; who is announced, as about to come suddenly to his temple; and whose act of coming to his temple

¹ Zechar. ii. 6—11. Malach. iii. 1.

is chronologically limited to the days of the second temple, which is thence to exceed the first temple in glory, and which was finally destroyed by Titus and the Romans¹. But to such characteristics Christ alone will be found to answer. Whence the Church has in all ages most logically and scripturally concluded, that Christ, or the second person of the blessed Trinity, or God the Son, is that Messenger-Jehovah: who is declared to have been sent by Jehovah, and who is yet equally declared to be the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. Now the Being, so characterized, repeatedly claims to be the only true God, and is repeatedly spoken of as such by his servants the prophets. Therefore the Son is the only true God.

With this conclusion the record of the new Covenant perfectly agrees. The constant language of Christ is, that he is sent by the Father or that he is the messenger of Jehovah; and, as the ancient prophets style him *the messenger of the covenant*, so does he exhibit himself as ratifying or confirming that covenant with his own blood². Yet, while he is described as being

¹ Malach. iii. 1. Haggai ii. 6—9.

² Matt. x. 40. Mark ix. 37. Luke ix. 48. John iv. 34. v. 23, 24, 30, 36. vi. 44. vii. 16. ix. 4. x. 36. xi. 42. xii. 49. xiii. 20. xiv. 24. xv. 21. xvi. 5. xvii. 18, 21, 23, 25. Malach. iii. 1. Matt. xxvi. 28. Mark xiv. 24. Luke xxii. 20. See above book iii. chap. 2.

*the messenger of Jehovah and the messenger of the covenant; he is expressly declared by St. John and by St. Jude to be, God the Word made flesh, God the true God, and our only Lord God and Lord*¹.

Thus fully is the proposition made out from Scripture, that *the Son is the only true God*.

(3.) Respecting the proposition, that *the Holy Ghost is the only true God*, we must likewise search the Scripture: and this also we conceive to be there very distinctly enounced.

When Ananias kept back a part of the price for which he had sold his land, Peter said to him; *Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God*².

In these words of the inspired Apostle, the expressions, *to lie unto the Holy Ghost* and *to lie unto God*, are plainly used as synonymous or as mutually equivalent. Hence it follows of necessity, that the Holy Ghost is declared by St. Peter to be God. Now it will not be contended, that St. Peter declares the Holy Ghost to be one of the false gods of the Gentiles. On the contrary, he doubtless pronounces him to be the true God, venerated alike by Jews and

¹ John i. 1, 14. 1 John v. 20. Jude 4. Τον μονον δεσποτην Θεον και Κυριον ημων Ιησουν Χριστον. *Our only sovereign God and Lord Jesus Christ*. See also Titus ii. 13. which, according to Mr. Sharpe's valuable rule, ought to be similarly translated. See the Bishop of St. David's Tracts. p. 223—286.

² Acts v. 3, 4.

by Christians. But we are assured, that there is one only true God, the creator and moderator of all things. Therefore, according to St. Peter, *the Holy Ghost is the only true God.*

4. Thus, while our Lord declares that *the Father is the only true God*, we find it equally declared in Scripture, that *the Son is the only true God*, and that *the Holy Ghost is the only true God*: nor in this is there the slightest degree of contradiction. For, since we are assured that there is one only true God, and since both the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are alike declared to be the true God, it can not but follow, that they are each the only true God. The reason is obvious. Since each is declared in Scripture to be God, each must be either the true God or a false god. Now it will not be pretended, that each is declared to be a false god; nor will it be asserted, that there is more than one only true God. Therefore, since each is declared to be the true God, each is declared to be the only true God.

(1.) This apparent paradox can only be solved by an admission of that doctrine, which has faithfully been held in all ages by the catholic Church of Christ.

On the one hand, we are taught in Scripture, that *there is one only true God*: on the other hand, we are equally taught in Scripture, that *the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are alike this one only true God.* Hence the Church,

which devoutly receives the Bible as the divine word of inspiration, and which presumes not to be wise either above what is written or contrary to what is written, concludes from these several declarations of Scripture, that there is one only true God the maker of heaven and earth, but that this one only true God mysteriously exists in three persons or hypostases¹. *How* the Deity so exists, without either confusion of the persons or division of the substance, she presumes not vainly to enquire: for *who by searching can find out God?* Yet, in stedfastly holding the doctrine of *the Trinity in Unity*, she perceives nothing of that contradictoriness which the advocates of Socinianism would fain allege against it. If indeed Scripture asserted, and if she taught, that *Three* and *One* were the same in the same sense; a palpable self-contradiction would be presented to our intellect: and no palpable self-contradiction can possibly be believed. But neither does Scripture assert, nor does she teach, any such self-contradiction. The catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity is this: *that the Supreme Being is one, in regard to his substance or his proper divine nature; but that he is three, in regard to his component persons or hypostases.* Now there is no abstract contradiction in the existence of two or three or any number of persons in one nature: though there is a contradiction in the existence

¹ Art. i.

of two or three or any number of persons in one person. With respect to the peculiar mode in which the one only true God exists, we can know nothing save from his own revelation of himself. *A priori* and abstractedly, his divine unity of nature will not be affected, whether we suppose him to exist in one person or in many persons: but, whether his unity be an unity both of nature and of person, or whether it be an unity of nature only and not of person, we can know nothing and we can determine nothing, except in so far as we are taught in his own inspired word.

(2.) Neither can it be reasonably and truly said, that the proposition, which sets forth the doctrine of *the Trinity*, is itself unintelligible, and therefore from the very circumstance of its unintelligibility incapable of being received by a rational being.

The truth of the matter is, not that the proposition itself is unintelligible; but that the doctrine, which it clearly enough sets forth, exceeds our comprehension. There is no difficulty in understanding the naked proposition, that *God is one in nature and three in personality*. The difficulty consists, not in the proposition, but in the matter of the proposition. It is easy to understand the purport of the bare proposition itself, that *God is one in nature and three in personality*: the difficulty lies in understanding, how *God is one in nature and three in personality*.

Respecting this last matter, the *QUOMODO*, the proposition says nothing, and we know nothing. Yet surely our confessed ignorance of *MODE* is but a very unphilosophical reason for our disbelief of *CIRCUMSTANCE*. Does the Socinian disbelieve every *CIRCUMSTANCE*, with the *MODE* of which he is unacquainted? In that case, his creed will indeed be most lamentably scanty. It is easy to understand the proposition, that *body and soul are united in the composition of one man*: but it is very difficult, perhaps altogether impossible, to comprehend, *how body and soul are thus united*. Yet, because we know not the *MODE* of their union; shall we therefore deny the *CIRCUMSTANCE* of their union: because we understand not the *MODE*; shall we therefore say, that the proposition, which enounces the *CIRCUMSTANCE*, is itself unintelligible, and that from the very circumstance of its unintelligibility it is incapable of being received by a rational being? In truth, the proposition which declares that *God is one in nature and three in personality*, and the proposition which declares that *body and soul are united in the composition of one man*, are alike perfectly intelligible; though each sets forth a circumstance, with the mode of which we are unacquainted.

Such being the case, the only *real* question is, whether each proposition do or do not rest upon the authority of Holy Writ. If the two *CIRCUMSTANCES* set forth by them be revealed

in Scripture, while we are left wholly in the dark as to the MODE: we act, neither reverently nor philosophically, in denying the former, because we do not understand the latter. Let the Socinian reject Scripture; and he may then expatiate at his pleasure upon the irrationality of the doctrine of the Trinity: though, even in that case, he cannot prove its self-contradictoriness, unless he first garbles and alters the terms in which Christ states the doctrine. But, so long as he professes to receive Scripture as the word of God, nothing can be more illogical and more unphilosophical, than to reject *any* doctrine, maintained by *any* denomination of Christians, on the naked and simple ground of its alleged irrationality. To a consistent and rational believer in Scripture, the question is not, whether any particular doctrine, professing to be built on the word of God, is to be rejected on the bare score of a pretended irrationality; but whether the doctrine itself be, or be not, contained in the word of God. For what can be more egregiously childish, than to receive the Bible as the word of God, and yet to reject a portion of what it reveals on the simple ground of a fallible man's pronouncing that portion to be irrational? The business and the practice of a really Christian philosopher is, not to predetermine, by a dogmatical assertion of his own, the fancied rationality or irrationality of a doctrine; but to inquire, at once with an honest

heart and with all the severity of criticism, whether the doctrine itself be revealed in God's word. For, if the doctrine be there revealed, the very circumstance of its revelation proves its rationality. Henceforth, there can be no legitimate question upon *that* point. What is revealed in God's word requires not the *imprimatur* of man to be sent forth into the world as rational: nor will it be intrinsically one jot the less rational, even if that *imprimatur* should be presumptuously refused. He, who receives the Bible as God's word, has simply and solely to inquire what the Bible contains¹.

¹ It has always appeared to me, that the appellation of *rational Christians*, fondly assumed by the advocates of Socinianism, affords the most pregnant instance of irrationality that the world ever witnessed. What mean they by the term?

1. Do they mean to say, that they are rational Christians; because they receive that volume, which sets forth the pure reason of God? In that case, the appellation can be no way *distinctive*: for, what is common to *all*, cannot be characteristic of *some*.

2. Or do they mean to say, that they are rational Christians; because, while they receive the Bible as the word of God, they will believe no part of its contents which may haply appear to themselves to be irrational? In that case, I am at a loss to discover the validity of their claim to the title of *rational*: for nothing surely can be more absurd and unphilosophical, than to receive the Bible as God's word, and yet to declare that they will not believe a single iota of its contents which runs counter to their own fallible standard of reason.

II. Thus it appears, that the fallacy of the Socinian argument is built upon an artful transmutation of our Saviour's words, into words which he never uttered ; an artful change of the proposition *The Father is the only true God*, into the proposition *The Father only is the true God* : for the word *only* being no doubt discrepative, if the managers of that argument be allowed to apply it to the substantive *Father* instead of the substantive *God*, their business will of course be completed ; because, if *the Father only* or *the Father alone* be the true God, then most incontrovertibly no other being whatsoever can with propriety be so denominated.

3. Or, lastly, do they mean to say, that they are rational Christians ; because they will receive nothing as an article of faith, save *what is read in Holy Scripture, or may be proved thereby* ? In that case, how are *they* more especially rational Christians than the whole body of protestants against the Church of Rome ? This is the precise scheme of the Church of England (See Art. vi.) : and, though doubtless it is a very rational scheme, yet I am unable to comprehend, why the Socinians should affect the title of *rational* as something peculiarly distinctive of *themselves*, if they assume it on the ground of their admitting nothing save what may be proved by Holy Scripture.

I have a great curiosity to hear, what I never yet was fortunate enough to hear, the distinct and precise grounds on which the Socinians assume the title of *rational Christians* as a specifically discrepative appellation. For if the title mean any thing, it must of course mean, that *they ALONE are rational, while the great collective body of Christians is conversely irrational*.

What then is the real import and design of the remarkable passage, which the Socinians have attempted to wrest into an argument in favour of their own peculiar speculations?

1. The word *only*, as I have just observed, is no doubt discreitive: hence it must teach and set forth some certain separation or distinctiveness; for nothing can be called *only*, but in contradistinction to something else. We have to inquire therefore, what distinctiveness the word *only* sets forth in the proposition *The Father is the only true God*.

Now it clearly cannot set forth a distinctiveness, between the Father on the one hand, and the Son and the Holy Ghost on the other hand; as if (agreeably to the unauthorized gloss of Socinianism) the Father indeed were the true God, while the Son and the Holy Ghost respectively are not the true God: because, had such been the force of the word, it would not have been grammatically joined to the word *God*, but to the word *Father*¹. The distinctiveness, which

¹ Or, in the exact words of our Lord as addressing his Father, it would not have been grammatically joined to the word *God*, but to the word *thee*. 'ἵνα γινώσκωσι σε τον μονον αληθινον Θεον. Had our Lord meant to say, what the Socinians would industriously put into his mouth, he would, I presume, have expressed himself in some such manner as the following. 'ἵνα γινώσκωσι σε, ὅτι συ μονος εις ὁ αληθινος Θεος. Had *this* been the recorded declaration of our Saviour, the Socinian argu-

it *really* sets forth, must obviously be, between the word to which it is grammatically joined, and something which is separated from and opposed to that word. Consequently, when our Lord declares, that *the Father is the only true God*, he does not mean to assert that *the Father only is the true God to the exclusion of the Son and the Holy Ghost*: but he means to assert, that *the Father is the only true God to the exclusion of all the false gods of the Gentiles*.

(1.) The first proposition therefore, which our Saviour lays down as the basis of his religion, is; that *there is one only true God, and that his heavenly Father is that only true God*. Whence it follows, that none of the pretended deities of the Gentiles, forcibly contradistinguished from the true God by the discrepative adjective *only*, are worthy of divine worship; but, on the contrary, that they are to be abhorred and rejected.

(2.) Such is the first proposition. The second is, that *Jesus is the Christ or the Messiah, whom God the Father hath sent into the world for the redemption of lost mankind*.

Now a practical knowledge of these two propositions our Lord declares to be life eternal.

ment would have been irresistible. As it is, the argument is built, not upon what Christ *really* said, but upon what a Socinian gloss would fain though *falsely* ascribe to him.

This is life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.

2. Accordingly we shall find, that the sum and substance of Christianity is contained in the two propositions before us; and that it is so contained, as to draw a clear line of distinction between the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth and all other religionists at that time in the world.

(1.) A Christian is bound to believe, that *there is one only true God, and that the Almighty Father of heaven and earth is that God.*

This tenet at once separates him from those who worship the multifarious rabble of pagan divinities: for, if he admit as the very foundation of his creed the existence of one only true God, he must of necessity reject from his creed a plurality of false gods.

I need scarcely remark, how zealously the doctrine of the divine unity was maintained by the primitive Christians, how utterly they abhorred the worship of idols, and how perpetually they laid down their lives rather than burn incense upon the altars of the spurious gods of Paganism¹: it is at present more to my purpose to notice the mode, in which this essential tenet was inculcated upon the Gentiles by the early

¹ See the martyrdom of Justin and his companions in Milner's Hist. of the Church. Cent. ii. chap. 3.

inspired preachers of the Gospel. A memorable example in point is the sermon of St. Paul at Athens : and it is the more memorable, because, at its close, the second proposition laid down by our Lord is fully insisted upon ; so that, in truth, it may be viewed as a homily upon the very text which we are discussing.

Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For, as I passed by and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription : TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands ; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life and breath and all things ; and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation ; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us. For in him we live and move and have our being ; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver or stone, graven by art and man's device. And the times of this ignorance God winked at ; but now commandeth all men every where to repent : because he hath ap-

*pointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained ; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead*¹.

(2.) As a Christian is bound to believe, that *there is one only true God* ; so is he likewise bound to believe, that *the one only true God hath sent Jesus of Nazareth in the character of the promised Messiah*.

The former article of his belief separates him from the polytheistic Gentiles : the latter article of his belief separates him from the blinded Jews ; for, though they have ever firmly expected the promised Messiah, they have ever pertinaciously denied that the Messiah has come in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. An union of the two articles constitutes the creed of a Christian : and this creed, we see, is specially marked out for him (as it were) with the dying breath of his Lord and only Saviour. *This is life eternal, that they may know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent*.

3. The real design then of our Lord's declaration is not to teach us, as the Socinians pretend, that *the Father alone is the true God to the exclusion of the Son and the Holy Ghost* : but its design is to teach us, that *the Father is the only true God as contradistinguished from the false gods*

¹ Acts xvii. 22—31.

of the Gentiles, and that Jesus whom he hath sent is the promised Messiah.

This obvious interpretation of the passage is confirmed by a remarkable parallel passage of St. Paul.

Now, as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth. And, if any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know. But, if any man love God, the same is known of him. As concerning therefore the eating of those things that are offered in sacrifice unto idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one. For, though there be many that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be gods many and lords many): but to us there is one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him¹.

Here the worship of the Father, as the one true God, is opposed, not to the worship of the Son and the Holy Ghost, but to the worship of idols: and, as, in the gentile theology, there were gods many and lords many, both celestial and terrestrial; so, in the Christian theology, there is one true God the Father and one Lord Jesus Christ. The difference, in short, of the

¹ 1 Corinth. viii. 1—6.

two systems is declared to be this. Paganism acknowledges many gods and many lords : Christianity acknowledges one only true God and one only true Lord.

It is easy to see, that the Apostle is here referring to a very prominent doctrine of Paganism, particularly of Paganism as explained and received throughout the East. A notion very widely prevailed, and to this day still prevails among the idolatrous Hindoos, that, from the great universal father, himself one and many, a divine emanation has proceeded ; who, assuming the form of a man, has descended from heaven to earth for the purpose of reforming and instructing and reconciling the human race. Nor, according to the speculations of the Gentiles, has this descent been accomplished once only : on the contrary, it has often been accomplished ; and, at each descent, the emanation is in some sort esteemed a new person and is distinguished by a new title.

The resemblance, in certain points, between this being and our blessed Lord was soon observed by many of the oriental gentilizing converts : and it led to the monstrous heresy of pronouncing Christ to be only one of the numerous descents of the fabled emanation of pagan theology. Hence, in writing to the Corinthians, St. Paul warns them against receiving ANOTHER Jesus whom he has not preached¹ : and hence,

¹ 2 Corinth. xi. 4.

in writing to the same Corinthians, he is careful to assure them, that Christianity recognizes one only God the Father and one only Lord Jesus Christ ¹.

In this however he neither teaches, nor even insinuates, the bare humanity of the undoubted man Christ Jesus: for, in truth, both his express language and the very drift of his allusion require a directly opposite interpretation of his words.

His express language, in speaking of the one Lord Jesus Christ, is; that *by him are all things*, and that *we likewise are by him*. Now such language as this, though applied to a *true* and *undoubted* man, is plainly inapplicable to any *mere* man. The Being, by whom or through whom ² the whole universe and all the generations of men exist, can only be God; though he may, for a season, have been pleased to veil his divine majesty in the weakness of human flesh. Hence it is evident, that the title of *One Lord* is given to him, while the title of *One God* is given to the Father, not by way of intimating that he is not truly and properly One God with the Father, but by way of intimating that he has assumed a character in virtue of his humanity which the Father has not assumed.

That such is the meaning of the Apostle, is abundantly clear also from the very drift and na-

¹ 1 Corinth. viii. 6.

² Gr. ἐκ' αὐτοῦ.

ture of his allusion to the theology of the Gentiles. He speaks of their *gods many* and their *lords many*: and to these *gods many* and these *lords many*, he studiously opposes *the One God the Father* and *the One Lord Jesus Christ*. Now there is no point or antithesis in this allusive contradistinction, unless *the One Lord Jesus Christ* bears the same relation to *the One God the Father*, as *the many lords* of the pagans bear to their *many gods*. What then, in gentile mythology, was the relation of the former to the latter? Were the many gods reputed to be divinities: and were the many lords reputed to be mere men? Nothing of the sort. The lords and the gods were equally esteemed divinities, with this only difference: the gods were the beings, from whom certain emanations proceeded from time to time, which assumed a human form, mingled for a season with mortals, and then returned to the abyss of deity whence they had proceeded; the lords were the beings, who thus emanated from the gods and afterwards returned to them¹. Such being the case, the very allusion of St. Paul forbids the supposition, that he styles the Father *the One God* and the Son *the One Lord* by way of intimating, that, because the Son is Lord, he is therefore not God. His allusion, in truth, requires a directly opposite supposition. The

¹ I need scarcely remark, that this doctrine was the basis of the Gnostic heresy.

Gentiles, says he, agreeably to their system of repeated emanations and anthropomorphic descents of the deity, acknowledge *many gods* and *many lords*: but Christianity recognizes *one only God the Father* and *one only Lord Jesus Christ* who emanates from the Father. Yet are both these persons equally hypostases of the one sole Deity, though the Son bears œconomically the additional title of *Lord*. For, if all things are of the one God the Father; and we in him: all things are no less by the one Lord Jesus Christ; and we by him¹.

III. These remarks will enable us to enter fully into the peculiar expression of our Saviour, when he sets forth the two grand propositions upon which he builds his religion.

This is life eternal, that they may KNOW thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.

A KNOWLEDGE of the only true God the Father and of Jesus Christ whom he hath sent is declared, we see, to be life eternal. Now what is meant by this KNOWLEDGE? Clearly not an erroneous or false or perverted knowledge; for that, in fact, is no knowledge: nor yet a merely speculative knowledge; for, however necessary sound doctrine may be, we have no reason to suppose that the soundest doctrine, unless it works effectually and practically by love, will ensure to a man

¹ See my Sermons. vol. ii. serm. 3.

the promise of eternal life. Hence we must both doctrinally know God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ; and likewise act in such a manner that our practice may be no disgrace to our doctrine.

1. The sound doctrinal knowledge of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ must be sought, where only it can be found, in the inspired volume of Scripture.

There we learn, that *the Lord, the Lord God, is merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and upon the children's children to the third and to the fourth generation*¹. There we learn, that *no man hath seen God, that is the Father, at any time; but that the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him*².

There also we learn, both how the only-begotten Son hath declared the unseen Father, and what character is sustained by the Son himself. *Jesus saith unto them: I am the way, and the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me. If ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also: and from henceforth ye know him, and have seen him. Philip saith unto him: Lord, shew us the Father; and it sufficeth us. Jesus saith unto*

¹ Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.

² John i. 18.

*him: Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He, that hath seen me, hath seen the Father: and how sayest thou then; Shew us the Father? Believest thou not, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: the words, that I speak unto you, I speak not of myself: but the Father, that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works¹. The Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go to the Father². In this manner hath the only-begotten Son declared the unseen Father; whence, in virtue of the office which he has mercifully undertaken to sustain he is called *the Word*, or *the Voice* or *the Messenger of Jehovah*: would we further learn his true and proper character, Scripture, as before, must still be our guide. Hear then the declaration of St. Paul. *The Father hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son; in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature: for by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions or principalities or powers; all things were created by him and for him: and he is before all things; and by him all things**

¹ John xiv. 6—10.² John xvi. 27, 28.

*consist*¹. Hear also the declaration of St. John. *In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God; and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. He was in the world, and the world was made by him; and the world knew him not. He came unto his own; and his own received him not. But, as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth*². Hear lastly the declaration of the Son respecting himself. *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord; which is, and which was, and which is to come; the Almighty. Fear not; I am the first and the last: I am he, that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of Hades and of death*³.

¹ Coloss. i. 13—17.

² John i. 1—3, 10—12, 14.

³ Rev. i. 8, 11, 17, 18. I have often felt at a loss to conceive, what proof, within the capacity of language, that *Christ is very God as well as very man*, would satisfy a Socinian reasoner. In Holy Scripture, our Lord is denominated *God*, is declared to be *Jehovah*, is described as the creator of the world, and is decorated with the incommunicable attributes of the Deity. Is it possible for language to go any further? I confess, that I see not what more can be said. We may fairly ask the Socinians, what scriptural proof within the compass of language do you demand? Do you require, that Christ should

This, according to the plain testimony of Scripture, is that doctrinal knowledge of God

be expressly called *God*? He *is* expressly so called. Do you require, in order that all ambiguity may be avoided, that he should additionally be declared to be Jehovah? He *is* additionally so declared to be. Do you require, on the plea that an express delineation of character is less equivocal than a mere application of name, that he should be described as invested with the incommunicable attributes of the Deity? He *is* described as being so invested. Now I would ask, what can be demanded *more* than these three particulars? If the explicit enunciation of these three particulars do not satisfy a candid inquirer, what is there within the compass of language which *can* satisfy him? Why do the Socinians believe the Father to be very God? I know no other *scriptural* reason for their belief than this: the Father is styled *God*, is declared to be Jehovah or the Self-Existent, and is vested in the incommunicable attributes of Deity. If then they be satisfied with such a proof of the divinity of the Father, why are they dissatisfied with the self-same proof of the divinity of the Son? The Son, no less than the Father, is styled *God*, is declared to be Jehovah or the Self-Existent, and is vested in the incommunicable attributes of Deity. See John i. 1—3, 14. Heb. i. 2, 3, 8—12, compared with Psalm cii. 25—27. John xii. 37—41, compared with Isaiah vi. Coloss. i. 14—17. Rev. i. 8, 10—18. Whenever we have occasion to dispute with the Socinians, they are wont to produce those passages in which Christ is styled *a man*; such for instance as 1 Tim. ii. 5. *There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, the man Jesus Christ*: and then they triumphantly exclaim, as if the litigated point were finally settled, *Behold here the Creed which we profess*. Yet nothing surely can be more perfectly illogical and inconclusive than such a mode of conducting the argument. The matter in debate is not, *whether Christ be very man*, but *whether Christ be not also very God*. To ad-

the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, which our Saviour himself has pronounced to be eternal life.

2. But then we must never forget, that mere doctrinal knowledge, however essential, will stand us in little avail, unless it issue forth into practice.

That same divine person, who declared the knowledge of God the Father and of the Lord Jesus Christ to be eternal life, declared also no less unequivocally : *Not every one, that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven ; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven*¹. What God therefore hath joined to-

duce therefore a text, in which Christ is spoken of as *the man Jesus Christ*, leaves the matter in debate just where it found it. The passage, contained in 1 Tim. ii. 5, is as much the creed of the catholic Church as it is of the Socinian party. We deem it heresy to deny, that *the man Jesus Christ is the one mediator between God and man* : but, while we contend for the true and proper manhood of our blessed Lord quite as strenuously as the most energetic Socinian can do, we say (with St. Paul), that *the second man is the Lord from heaven*, and (with St. John) that *the Word made flesh is God*. I repeat it therefore, because Socinian reasoners seem very apt to forget it, that the point between us is, not *whether Christ be very man* (for in this doctrine we are agreed), but (as the matter is soundly expressed in the Athanasian Creed) *whether Christ be not God of the substance of the Father begotten before the worlds and man of the substance of his mother born in the world*. Hence, to adduce such a text as 1 Tim. ii. 5 by way of settling the matter is quite childish and nugatory.

¹ Mat. vii. 21.

gether, sound doctrine and holy practice, let not man presume to put asunder. Rather, on the contrary, *giving all diligence, add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience, and to patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly-kindness, and to brotherly-kindness charity. But he, that lacketh these things, is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins. Wherefore the rather, brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure; for, if ye do these things, ye shall never fall. For so an entrance shall be administered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*¹.

¹ 2 Peter i. 5—7, 9—11.

CHAPTER IV.

RESPECTING THE MODE IN WHICH GOD'S LOVE
TO FALLEN MAN IS DESCRIBED AS OPE-
RATING.

PREVIOUS to the fall, the love of God to his creature man was absolute and immediate : but, after the fall, man stood in a very different condition with regard to his Creator. Henceforth, if the love of God operated at all, it must needs operate in a very different mode from what it did heretofore.

This peculiar mode of operation is darkly and typically set forth, under the two earlier Dispensations : but, under the final Dispensation, it is revealed and explained in all its full-orbed glory.

I. Perhaps no one of the inspired writers sets forth the matter with greater distinctness and perspicuity than the beloved apostle St. John.

In this was manifested the love of God toward us, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. Herein is love :

*not that we loved God ; but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins*¹.

We have here exhibited to us the peculiar manner, in which the love of God operates toward man viewed not as an upright but as a fallen creature. His love is described as operating, not absolutely but relatively, not immediately but mediately. Now, as the peculiar manner of its operation was obscurely intimated under the Patriarchal and Levitical Dispensations, so it constitutes the very sum and substance and basis of the Christian Dispensation. Let us attend then to the passage, which has just been cited from the writings of St. John : and let us thus endeavour to gain a clear conception of the important subject before us.

1. The passage in question teaches us, that God does indeed love man ; but that, since man is a fallen and therefore a sinful creature, this love cannot, in consistency with other divine attributes, be exerted toward him absolutely and immediately. A reconciliation must first be effected between the parties at variance : and, when the infinite superiority of the Supreme Being is considered, it is certainly a wonderful display of love and condescension on his part that *he* should be the person that contrives the mean of effecting a reconciliation.

2. It further teaches us, that God reconciles

¹ 1 John iv. 9—11.

man to himself, not by the agency even of the highest created spirit or angel (however remarkable such a circumstance might well be deemed); but by the agency of his only-begotten Son, whom he sent into the world for this express purpose, *that we might live through him*. Hence, as God works not superfluously, we seem bound to conclude, that, *without* the intervention of the Son, we could not have lived (in the scriptural sense of the word), but must have remained dead in our trespasses and sins.

3. Of what nature then is this intervention? Is it a mere embassy of mercy, declaring on God's part that he is willing to be reconciled to man, provided man is willing to be reconciled to him; an embassy, proclaiming after the manner of an earthly sovereign an amnesty to all such as shall be disposed to return to their allegiance?

The passage does indeed involve such an idea; but, according to the plain untortured import of the words, it involves much more.

We may observe, that the only-begotten Son is not simply to *proclaim* life and forgiveness to a world of condemned criminals; but that the love of God is peculiarly manifested in this, that he sent him to be even *the propitiation* for our sins.

Such phraseology can with no propriety be applied to the office of a *mere* ambassador: for how can a person of this description be said to be a propitiation for the sins of those to whom he

barely delivers a message from his sovereign? This we might safely say, even if there were no other passage than the present which inculcated the doctrine of *the atonement*. But numerous and most explicit are the passages, which abundantly lead us to understand the meaning of the Apostle. We are elsewhere taught, in almost every method that could be devised to prevent any other than wilful misapprehension, that what St. John means, by *our living through the Son* and by *the Son's being the propitiation for our sins*, is this: that the only-begotten of the Father, the promised Seed of the woman, after assuming our nature and undergoing a life of voluntary poverty and humiliation, at length was pleased to become our substitute; that he submitted to death, in order that we might be saved from the unspeakable horrors of the second death; that, like the typical sacrifices under the two preparatory Dispensations, he stood in our place and was made our surety, thus bearing in his own person that tremendous burden of the divine wrath justly due unto sin which we must otherwise have borne; and that, by thus diverting the anger of God from us and by making full satisfaction to his offended justice, he brought about a reconciliation between fallen man and his Creator.

4. This plan of our redemption St. John adduces, as a most remarkable instance of God's love displayed in actual exercise. And such undoubtedly it must be deemed, whether we con-

sider the dignity of the agents or the low condition of the persons interested in it.

The Son of God stooped from the excellency of that glory, wherewith he had been clothed from all eternity, not merely to support in full magnificence the character of an ambassador from heaven ; but to take upon him the form of a servant : nor yet merely to take upon him that despised form, nor yet merely to encounter the unmerited contempt of those whom he came to rescue from the dominion of sin ; but to lay down his very life for them, but to bear in their behalf the utmost extremity of God's curse and indignation.

No greater attestation surely of the divine love to lost mankind can be given than this : that the Supreme Lord of all *spared not his own Son, but for us delivered him up* to a painful and ignominious death ; that the Son freely and voluntarily devoted himself for our sakes, for our sakes expired in agonies on the cross, expired deserted (so far as a perfectly holy nature can be thus deserted) of the presence of his heavenly Father ; and that this should have been done for us, not while we were striving to please God but while we were yet his enemies, not while we were labouring to turn ourselves to purity of conversation but while we were *alienated in our mind by wicked works*. Had we *first* loved God, it might have seemed that there was some extraneous impelling cause for his loving us : but the Apos-

tle assures us, that the order of things was precisely the reverse. *Herein is love: not that we loved God; but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.*

5. Now, whatever degree of mystery and difficulty there may be in the scheme of man's redemption, if we attempt to view it abstractedly in its different bearings, if we attempt to argue and reason upon its fitness, if we attempt to discuss the grounds on which it may be supposed to rest: whatever difficulty, I say, may attend it in the form of metaphysical speculation, there can be none in comprehending the import of a simple statement of the scheme itself.

For who cannot readily conceive, that God is unable, consistently with the plan of moral government which he has laid down for himself, to bestow his love upon sinful and rebellious man otherwise than through the medium of one who should be employed to effect a reconciliation between the parties? We every day see something of a similar nature among ourselves: it must therefore be sufficiently easy to understand the purport of such a transaction between God and man¹.

¹ The whole analogy of nature removes all imagined presumption against the general notion of *a Mediator between God and man*. For we find all living creatures are brought into the world, and their life in infancy is preserved, by the instrumentality of others: and every satisfaction of it, some way or other, is bestowed by the like means. So that the visible

So again: who cannot readily comprehend what is meant by one person voluntarily offering himself to undergo the punishment due to another? In all instances of suretiship, we behold something closely parallel: and he, who knows what every bondman does when he pledges himself to be answerable for a neighbour's debt, can find no difficulty in extending the idea from a debt to a trespass; can find no difficulty in figuring to his mind the case of a bondman, who (supposing that the laws allowed such a thing) had pledged his life for the moral conduct of a neighbour that proved to be a robber or a murderer.

I mean not to say, that the analogy is perfect: but this I will say, that he, who finds it easy to comprehend the civil case, can scarcely find it difficult to comprehend the theological case. So

government, which God exercises over the world, is by the instrumentality and mediation of others. How far his invisible government be or be not so, it is impossible to determine at all by reason. And the supposition, that part of it is so, appears, to say the least, altogether as credible as the contrary. There is then no sort of objection, from the light of nature, against the general notion of *a mediator between God and man*, considered as a doctrine of Christianity or as an appointment in this dispensation: since we find by experience, that God does appoint mediators to be the instruments of good and evil to us; the instruments of his justice and his mercy. And the objection, here referred to, is urged, not against mediation in that high, eminent, and peculiar, sense, in which Christ is our Mediator; but absolutely against the whole notion itself of a mediator at all. Bishop Butler's Anal. part ii. chap. 5. § 1.

far as the mere supposed matter of fact is concerned, there can be nothing beyond the limits of the meanest capacity thoroughly to understand this matter of fact itself: namely, that man had sinned against God; that he was therefore justly liable to punishment; that God nevertheless so loved him as to send his only-begotten Son into the world for the express purpose of enduring such punishment in the stead of man; and that the only-begotten Son so testified his own love, that he freely and voluntarily, without the least shadow of constraint, undertook to bear, and actually did bear, the punishment due to man, thereby reconciling him to his offended Creator.

With the proof of these positions, or with the abstract difficulties that may attend some of them, I am in no way at present concerned: we of the Church of England, in common with the great body of the Catholic Church, fully admit their truth; and I have only to assert, that, *as* positions, they contain nothing whatsoever which may not be understood with perfect facility by the most unlettered hind.

II. It is, in short, on the full presumption of their easy general intelligibility, that the Apostle employs them as involving a very strong motive to the practice of universal holiness.

1. For let us observe the use which he makes of them. He does not consider them as a mere string of theological subtleties, curious indeed to

the speculative divine, but of little practical utility to the unlearned : on the contrary, instead of studiously keeping them in the back ground, he brings them unreservedly forward ; and *that* too, not solely by way of authoritatively teaching us what Christianity is, but for the avowed purpose of drawing from them the most important practical inference.

Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another. Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us : and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren. If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother ; he is a liar : for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen¹ ?

Precisely the same mode of teaching is adopted by St. Paul : Christian practice he industriously builds upon Christian doctrine.

The love of Christ constraineth us : because we thus judge, that, if one died for all, then were all dead ; and that he died for all, that they who live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him who died for them and rose again. Walk in love ; as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet-smelling savour².

2. So palpable indeed is this matter, that one of the principal modern writers of the Socinian

¹ 1 John iv. 11. iii. 16. iv. 20.

² 2 Corinth. v. 14, 15. Ephes. v. 2.

school fully acknowledges, that *the love of God in giving his Son to die for us is the consideration, on which the Scriptures always lay the greatest stress as a motive to gratitude and obedience*¹. He does indeed in the same breath intimate, that, whatever be the essential character of the Son, the motive will still be the same ; and that, even if *Christ be considered as a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary, and naturally as fallible and peccable as Moses or any other prophet, there are nevertheless sufficient sources of gratitude and devotion* : but yet he explicitly allows, that such is the main argument employed by the apostles to turn men from sin unto holiness.

This then being allowed, we may both appreciate the miserable defectiveness of those exhortations to a moral life, which are not expressly and designedly built on the doctrinal motives of the great sacrifice of Christ and of a lively faith in his sole meritoriousness ; and we may likewise easily estimate, how much of their weight such motives lose, when the peculiar doctrines which constitute them are clipped and pared down either to the contracted creed of Arianism or to the dwarfish standard of what Dr. Priestley calls the lowest kind of Socinianism.

If God would to a certain extent have shewn his benevolence toward lost mankind by giving some just man, yet after all a *mere man*, volun-

¹ Priestley's Defence of Unitarianism for 1786. p. 102.

tarily to die for them ; how infinitely more is his love displayed by devoting to the same purpose his only-begotten Son. If the former plan, according to the apprehension of this writer, would have been a sufficient source of gratitude and devotion ; how much more is the latter, even as much more as the Creator is superior to the creature. In the theological system of the Socinian, feebly indeed is either the love of God toward man, or his just hatred of sin, exhibited to us, compared with the view of those attributes which is given in the creed of the Catholic Church. God so hated sin, that *he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all*, as that sacrifice by which alone his justice could be satisfied : yet *God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life*¹.

Dr. Priestley would represent the motives, which actuate the Trinitarian and the Antitrinitarian, as virtually the same, inasmuch as, *whether the Son be man, angel, or of a superangelic nature, every thing that he has done is to be referred to the love of God*.

They may possibly be the same [in kind, but they are infinitely different in degree : unless indeed we maintain, that the very same gratitude will be felt toward the person who has served us at a trifling expence and toward the person who

¹ John iii. 16.

has served us at an expence incalculably weighty; unless we maintain, that we shall experience exactly the same sentiments toward him who has saved us from death at the expence of his slave's life and toward him who has conferred such an obligation upon us at the expence of his own son's life. The greater and the more costly the service rendered to us, the greater surely in all ingenuous minds will be the gratitude excited by that service: and, the greater the gratitude excited, the greater we may reasonably conclude will be the exertions to evince that gratitude by striving to act in a manner agreeable to the benefactor. Just so much as the Messiah of the Trinitarian is superior in personal dignity to the Messiah of the Socinian, must the motive to love and serve God be stronger in the case of the former than in that of the latter. I say not, that the motive always *operates*, for it matters little to what persuasion the mere nominal Christian belongs: but this I may say, that, according to every principle of human action, the motive *afforded* by the Catholic creed must, *as a motive*, be infinitely stronger than that afforded by the scanty creed of the Socinian.

3. On the Christian scheme, the love of God will ever be attended by the love of our brethren. *Beloved*, says the Apostle, *if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another*. In the days of the primitive Church it was remarked even by unbelievers: *Behold, how these Christians love one an-*

other. Let us go and do likewise. Let us consider, how much God hath loved us : and then surely our frozen hearts will be melted to a generous and active love for those, with whom we hope to spend an eternity of glory. Thus doing, we shall most especially resemble our great Master, who went about doing good both to the souls and bodies of men : and thus, by adding the love of Christ's flock to the love of God, we shall acquire a fitness for the enjoyment of that heavenly kingdom which is prepared for all those that love the coming of our Lord and Saviour.

CHAPTER V.

THE END OF THE CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION IS
THE HAPPINESS OF THE BLESSED IN HEAVEN.

THE nature of the Levitical Dispensation was such, that, by the very necessity of its peculiar economy, a future state of rewards and punishments could not be made the direct sanction of the Law. For, since it pleased the Most High God himself to act as the temporal king of Israel, precisely in the same manner as any mere mortal might act as the temporal king of another nation: it would thence obviously follow, that the sanction of the public law of the Hebrew people must needs be similar to the sanction of the public law of any other people. But the sanction of every public law, as it is administered by human sovereigns, can only be of a temporal nature. Therefore the sanction of the public law of the Israelites, administered as it was by a divine sovereign occupying the place of a human sovereign, could only, with any degree of consistency, be of a temporal nature also. This difference indeed there was, arising from the uncontrouled and super-human power of the

divine sovereign, that, while the only sanction of public law as administered by mortal kings is that of temporal punishments, the sanction of the Hebrew public law as administered by an immortal king was that both of temporal punishments and temporal rewards likewise : but still, though the sanction of the Hebrew law was thus more ample than the sanction of any other national law, as comprehending rewards no less than punishments ; it was, after all, of a temporal nature ; a breach of the law being punished in *this* world and an observance of the law being rewarded in *this* world, just as earthly sovereigns punish a breach of the public law *here*, and just as they would reward an observance of the public law *here* were rewards as much in their power as punishments¹.

This I take to be the true *rationale* of the Hebrew law : in this manner I account for that peculiarity of its sanction, which, among those who forget that the law of Mosés was to the Israelites as much the law of the land as the statute-law is the law of the land to the English, has often excited no small speculation. It was not that the Hebrews, like those of the patriarchal ages before them, did not *believe* the doctrine of future happiness to the just and future misery to the unjust : *they* believed it as firmly as *we* do, and it was to *them* a religious

¹ See above book ii. chap. 4.

sanction as it is to *us* : but, from the very nature of every temporal government (and the Israelitish theocracy was as much and as strictly a temporal government as any other national polity), it could not consistently be made the sanction of the statute-law of the land. That sanction, like the sanction of any other statute-law, was of necessity temporal ; God himself presiding over the Hebrew nation, precisely as a human king presides over any other nation. Hence, when the Israelites came to have human kings, those kings were circumstanced quite differently from any other kings. Instead of being what we are wont to call *independent princes*, they were merely and simply the viceroys of Jehovah : by his authority they acted, and by his authority they were often deposed : he himself meanwhile, though acting through his human delegate and minister, was the sole true and proper temporal sovereign of Israel.

Yet, while both the Hebrews and they of the patriarchal ages before them held the doctrine of *a future state of rewards and punishments* as a religious sanction, though they neither did nor could hold it as the sanction of their statute-law ; they certainly had by no means that clear and distinct comprehension of it which it is *our* privilege under the Gospel of Christ so eminently to possess. It may be said of *them*, that they *saw, as in a glass, darkly* : but, respecting *our* case, it may be said, that *our Saviour Jesus*

*Christ hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel*¹. They indeed possessed the doctrine; and it seems to have been gradually opened to them with increasing clearness by the later prophets: but still, at the best, they viewed the awful realities of the future world dimly and obscurely; it being reserved for Christ our Saviour to throw a strong and distinct and vivid light upon the already existing doctrine of life and immortality. This light, accordingly, both Christ and his servants the inspired apostles, *did* throw upon the doctrine: for they set forth, with the utmost clearness and without the least degree of ambiguity, a state of eternal and unutterable happiness for the just, and a state of eternal and unutterable misery for the unjust.

When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats: and he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left. Then shall the king say unto them on his right hand: Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand: Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the

¹ 2 Tim. i. 10.

*devil and his angels. And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous, into life eternal*¹.

The express sanction then of the Christian Dispensation is *a state of future rewards and punishments*: but the end or design of that Dispensation is *the happiness of the blessed in heaven*; for certainly, unless we be prepared to admit the monstrous and revolting positions of the high predestinarian scheme, the future punishment of the irreclaimable must be viewed, rather as incidental, than as forming any part of God's purpose in conveying the Gospel of his Son to lost mankind. Such being the end of the Christian Dispensation, we cannot more properly conclude this treatise, than by considering the nature of that happiness which the blessed will possess in heaven as *the end of their faith*², and by noting the reasonableness of that exceeding great joy which well befits the heirs of eternal salvation. *Rejoice, and be exceeding glad*; said our gracious Saviour: *for great is your reward in heaven*³.

I. The happiness of the blessed in heaven is, in some respects, ineffable and indescribable: because it exceeds all our present limited conceptions; and, what we are unable to conceive, we are unable minutely to delineate. *Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the*

¹ Matt. xxv. 31—46.

² 1 Peter i. 9.

³ Matt. v. 12.

*heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him*¹. Yet, though it were folly to attempt minuteness of delineation, we may safely and profitably draw out some of those leading particulars which will characterize the state of the blessed in heaven.

1. Perhaps the highest and purest of all pleasures, which are not strictly and absolutely religious, is the cultivation of the understanding and the acquisition of knowledge. Yet, though *knowledge is pleasant unto the soul*²; it is attended, so long as we continue in this world, both with its pains and its disappointments and its disadvantages. *The lips of knowledge are, indeed, a precious jewel*³; and doubtless *wisdom and knowledge and joy* are, to a certain extent, associates even here⁴: yet he, the wisest of men, who *gave his heart to know wisdom* and who *got more wisdom than all they that had been before him*, was constrained at length to confess in the bitterness of his disappointment; *I perceived, that this also is vexation of spirit: for in much wisdom is much grief; and he, that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow*⁵.

But, hereafter, the servants of the Lord will eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, without any base alloy and without any lurking in-

¹ 1 Corinth. ii. 9.

² Prov. ii. 10.

³ Prov. xx. 15.

⁴ Eccles. ii. 26.

⁵ Eccles. i. 16—18.

jury. The eyes of their understanding will be opened in a manner, which it is difficult at present to apprehend. *Now we see through a glass darkly, saith the Apostle ; but then face to face : now I know in part ; but then shall I know, even as also I am known*¹. In this present world, shut up in the prison of gross flesh, with deplumated wings and scanty opportunities and hebetated vision, the soul is compelled to toil and to labour, often to labour without success, for that modicum of knowledge which may be deemed attainable by human faculties. But, when *delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God*², she will behold things with other eyes. As she now acquires her imperfect knowledge by hard labour and through long deductions : she will then perhaps gain her perfect knowledge, either with the rapidity of absolute intuition, or with no more exercise of her powers than is grateful and interesting. We possibly do not say too much, if we say, that the gigantic intellect of Newton while in this nether world did not so much surpass the limited intellect of the most untutored savage, as the intellect of the least of the glorified sons of God surpassed that of Newton. Yet, vast as the knowledge of beatified spirits may be, it admits and receives a continued increase. When one intellectual world is con-

¹ 1 Corinth. xiii. 12.² Rom. viii. 21.

quered, another still lies open before them: and perpetual employment, without satiety, without mental weariness, without let and hindrance, prevents that oppressive stagnation of the mind which is apt to follow a completed undertaking. The abyss of the divine intellect alone admits absolute perfection of knowledge; knowledge incapable of increase, knowledge without the feeling of languor and listlessness.

2. As great a good however as the increase of knowledge may be, it is not the greatest good. God has so framed his rational creatures, that they can enjoy no solid or lasting happiness independently of himself. Hence, the more intimate our communion with God, the greater is our happiness: the less intimate our communion with God, the less is our happiness: and, where there is no communion with God, neither can there be any real happiness.

A *total* loss of communion with God is the condition of evil spirits and of wicked men. These enjoy no true happiness: or, if wicked men do enjoy a sort of false happiness in this world, the time is rapidly approaching, when the cup of unhallowed pleasure will be dashed from their lips, and when they will be for ever banished from the presence of the Lord. Yet, even here, their happiness has no solidity. Their highest joys are but as the short-lived blaze of crackling thorns. He, who can read the inmost soul of man, hath declared and recorded their

true state ; however it may be disguised, by a meretricious glare from their fellow-mortals. *The wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked*¹.

An imperfect at the best, and often interrupted, communion with God ; a communion, sometimes more intimate and sometimes less intimate ; is the condition even of the best of men while they continue in the flesh. It is true indeed, that, *as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God* : it is true, that they have *received the Spirit of adoption, whereby they cry, Abba, Father* : it is true, that *the Spirit beareth witness with their spirit, that they are the children of God*². But, still, how perpetually are their hopes clouded : how perpetually do their hearts and affections travel from heaven to earth : how perpetually is their communion with God lost and broken. If, for a season, they be (as it were) with Christ on the mount ; if, for a season, God lifteth up the light of his countenance upon them : this spiritual fruition is *only* for a season ; the light is soon changed into darkness ; their strength departs from them ; and they become as other men. *Oh, that I were as in months past*, says holy Job ; *as in the days when God preserved me : when his candle shined upon my head, and when by his light I walked*

¹ Isaiah lvii. 20, 21.

² Rom. viii. 14—16.

*through darkness : as I was in the days of my youth, when the secret of God was upon my tabernacle, when the Almighty was yet with me*¹. Thus imperfect is our best communion with God, while we are in the bondage of the flesh ; thus variable, thus fluctuating, thus defective.

But in heaven it will be far otherwise. Our communion with God will then be most intimate and most incessant : our happiness therefore will be alike great and perpetual. *I saw no temple therein*, says the prophet of the Apocalypse : *for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it. And the city had no need of the sun neither of the moon, to shine in it : for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. And the nations of them, which are saved, shall walk in the light of it : for the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it. And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day : for there shall be no night there. They need no candle, neither light of the sun : for the Lord God giveth them light ; and they shall reign for ever and ever*².

3. The reason, why our communion with God is so broken and imperfect while we continue in this world, is the frailty and corruption of our debased nature. Were we sinless, we should never cease to be *one with Christ, and Christ one with us* : but our iniquities have separated between us and our God ; and our sins have hid his face from

¹ Job xxix. 2—5.

² Rev. xxi. 22—25. xxii. 5.

us, so *that* there are times when *he will not hear*¹. Even in our best estate on this side of eternity, we have each abundant reason to say with the prophet: *Woe is me, for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips*²! Even ourselves also, which have the first-fruits of the Spirit; even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body³. In our practice, we can never come up to those ideas of Christian holiness and Christian devotedness, which we can readily enough frame to ourselves in mental speculation. A something is still wanting: a something ever draws us back and hinders our course. *To will is present with me*, may the believer say with St. Paul, *but, how to perform that which is good, I find not. For the good, that I would, I do not: but the evil, which I would not, that I do. I find a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members*⁴.

Such will be the perpetual inward conflict of a Christian, while yet in the flesh: for *man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh*

¹ Isaiah lix. 2.

² Isaiah vi. 5.

³ Rom. viii. 23.

⁴ Rom. vii. 18—23.

*lusteth always contrary to the Spirit*¹. But the great privilege of heaven, that privilege which ensures a never-ceasing communion with God, is an absolute freedom both from all sin and from all tendency to sin. *In the city of the living God, in the heavenly Jerusalem, in the midst of an innumerable company of angels, the spirits of just men, we are told, are made perfect*². They, which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead, can die no more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection³. Thus being freed from the dominion of sin, they will be freed likewise from all harassing inward conflict: and, there being nothing to obstruct the true glory and perfection of their nature, they will enjoy a perpetual and a yet more and more intimate communion with the author of their existence.

4. Highly privileged as the walk of the good man is upon earth, because, like Enoch, he walks with God: still, no less than other men, is he liable to pain and grief and trouble and sickness. In all these he beholds indeed the hand of a father; and he opens not his mouth, because it is the Lord's doing: yet, notwithstanding he is fully assured that all things are working together for his everlasting good, chastisement, *as* chastisement, must ever, in the

¹ Art. ix.² Heb. xii. 22, 23.³ Luke xx. 35, 36.

very nature of things, be irksome and painful. It may be good, as a mean to an end; just as a surgical operation is good, as a mean to the recovery of a diseased patient: but it is no more intrinsically good and pleasant and desirable, than a severe surgical operation is intrinsically good and pleasant and desirable. This is confessed by the Apostle. *If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons: for what son is he, whom the father chasteneth not? Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless, afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby*¹.

Such being the case, when chastisement of whatever description has wrought its full effect, and when the child of God is removed from the probationary school of this world to that state for which all his Father's severity was mercifully designed to fit and prepare him: then chastisement, as being in itself a physical evil though a mean to a great and glorious moral good, ceases to be any longer employed. The moment that *the souls of the faithful are delivered from the burden of the flesh*, they are forthwith *in joy and felicity*. Preserved in the abode of separate spirits under the safe-keeping of their God and their Saviour, *they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them*². Here, joyfully looking forward to

¹ Heb. xii. 7, 11.

² Rev. xiv. 13.

the time, when it shall please the Lord, of his gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of his elect and to hasten his kingdom; they expect, in the true faith of his holy name, to have their perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in his eternal and everlasting glory. *I heard, says St. John, a great voice out of heaven, saying: Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men; and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people; and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying; neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away*¹. Is the sleep of a labouring man sweet, after the toil and turmoil of a hard-wrought day²? *Behold, there remaineth therefore a rest to the people of God*³. Is the heirship of an ample patrimony desirable in our eyes? *Behold, the Father hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light*⁴. Do we desire freedom from sorrow and the possession of a kingdom? *God hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son*⁵. Well may we take the testimony of an eye-witness, the testimony of Paul, himself caught up to the third heaven, as to the joys of the Paradise of God. He heard indeed unspeakable words⁶: he beheld sights

¹ Rev. xxi. 3, 4.² Eccles. v. 12.³ Heb. iv. 9.⁴ Coloss. i. 12.⁵ Coloss. i. 13.⁶ 2 Corinth. xii. 2--4.

incapable of adequate description to mortal ears. But the impression left upon his mind by this mysterious transaction has thrown a vivid glory over his language, like the glory which shone upon the face of Moses when he descended from the mount and quitted the immediate presence of Jehovah. *I reckon, that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us*¹. *For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things, which are seen, are temporal; but the things, which are not seen, are eternal*². *I am now ready to be offered; and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing*³. The eloquent apostle is evidently so absorbed in the anticipation of future glory, that all sublunary things appear to be absolute dust, to be mere nonentities, when placed for one moment in competition with it.

5. There is another blessing; which, inferior as it may be to perfect communion with God and

¹ Rom. viii. 18.

² 2 Corinth. iv. 17, 18.

³ 2 Tim. iv. 6—8.

with his Christ, must not be passed over in silence. Man is born for society : but, in order that society may be fully enjoyed, like alone must meet with like. To this separation, accordingly, into distinct parties, we have all a natural tendency. Those, whose views and pursuits and tastes and inclinations and professions are the same, have invariably a strong desire to associate together ; so strong, in short, that, could their wishes be realized, they would mix with none beyond their own particular circle. The state of things, however, in this present world does not perfectly admit the realization of any such exclusive system : but still, though such a system be impracticable, it is a system which all men in their hearts secretly desire. In the common intercourse of society, we *tolerate* those, with whom we have little or nothing in common : but we *enjoy* ourselves among those, with whom we can intimately amalgamate.

Now the whole society of heaven is constituted upon that express principle of separation, to which in our wishes and inclinations we have all a natural tendency. At the day of judgment, we are taught, *when the Son of man shall come in his glory, all nations shall be gathered before him : and he shall SEPARATE them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats*¹. All

¹ Matt. xxv. 31, 32.

those, who are set on his right hand, however they may innocently differ in their subordinate tastes and pursuits, will perfectly harmonize in that, which forms the very basis of the communion of saints: they will all be united, in love to their God and Saviour, in purity of heart and disposition, in an ardent wish to promote the glory of their gracious Father, and in a fervent affection to each other and to those holy spirits who never fell from their original uprightness. Hence their society will be altogether accordant with their wishes. They will desire no change, and they will need no increase. They will not secretly wish themselves exempt from that necessity of keeping up a certain degree of intercourse with such and such a person, which the present world, constituted as it is, must ever impose upon them: but they will have every member of their blessed society, exactly what the utmost desire of their heart would have him to be.

I may add, that, as many, who are joined upon earth, will be disjoined in heaven; so will many be joined in heaven, who have been unhappily disjoined upon earth. One of the various lamentable consequences of the broken state of Christ's Church militant is this: from long-cherished habits and from early-infused associations, good men, who are severally members of different Christian communities, are apt, in the present world, to view each other with distrust,

to think of each other uncharitably, and to speak of each other acrimoniously. Every man is a bundle of prejudices : every man, I fear, is in his heart more or less a tyrant over the conscience of his neighbour. From this lamentable weakness, even the truly pious are by no means exempt : nay even the very circumstance of their piety, by leading them to view every thing connected with religion as of primary importance, may the more easily make them liable to it. Under such circumstances, truly good men are perpetually kept asunder in this life. They know not each other : and therefore they judge of each other unfairly and harshly and uncandidly. But, in heaven, this misunderstanding will be rectified : and, at the time of the restitution of all things, some, I doubt not, who have ignorantly anathematized their pious brethren of a different communion, and others, who have only not anathematized all save those that belong to their own little sect or party, will wonder to find themselves alike received by their common and gracious Saviour. There will the saintly Fenelon walk, in the glory of God, with the martyred Latimer : there will the apostolic Wilson give the right hand of fellowship to the humble and pious Doddridge.

6. The consummation of the torments of hell, and the consummation of the bliss of heaven, are alike expressed by this one word *ETERNITY*. Great as is the destined felicity of the glorified

saints, a bitter drop would be diffused throughout the whole of it, if in duration it were any thing less than everlasting. The seal of happiness is the promise of eternity. Here we have no abiding city : in the midst of life we are in death : we come up, and are cut down, like a flower : we flee as it were a shadow, and never continue in one stay. But, *we know, that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens*¹. This glorious privilege, an everlasting existence in happiness, as it is the consummating joy of a better world, so does the Apostle hold it forth as a special consolation to Christ's afflicted members upon earth. *The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God : and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we, which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air : and so shall we EVER be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words*².

II. I have now given a very faint and imperfect sketch of that happiness of the blessed in heaven, which is the end and design of the Christian Dispensation : yet, faint and imperfect as it is, who cannot perceive, even from such a sketch, the reasonableness of that exceeding great joy which well befits the heirs of eternal

¹ 2 Corinth. v. 1.

² 1 Thessal. iv. 16—18.

salvation? *Rejoice, and be exceeding glad*; says our Lord to all those, who are his faithful disciples: *for great is your reward in heaven.*

In truth, no human being, save the true Christian, can *rationally* rejoice. After a fashion, the worldling may rejoice and be glad: but rejoice he cannot *rationally*. Death, which is the Christian's friend and the worldling's foe, awaits the Christian and the worldling alike: and, after death, cometh the judgment. But how differently are these two men prepared to meet their judge and their God! *Rejoice, and be exceeding glad*; says Christ to the one: *for great is your reward in heaven*¹. *Because I have called, and ye refused*; says the Divine Wisdom to the other: *I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof: I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh: when your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you*².

Before we venture then to *rejoice and to be exceeding glad*, let us see that we have a well-grounded reason to hope that *great is our reward in heaven*. Nothing can be more rational than joy, if our expectation of an eternal inheritance be built upon a sure foundation: nothing can be more irrational than joy, if our expectation rest

¹ Matt. v. 12.

² Prov. i. 24—27.

upon the sand. Would we know our true condition, let us deal faithfully with ourselves. It is of small account to be judged of man's judgment : it is of small account to try our religious state by the humour and fashion of the world which passeth away. To the law and to the testimony ! By the word of God we must be tried hereafter : by the word of God therefore we must try ourselves here. To him, who will deal honestly with himself and who will bring his faith and practice to the touchstone of Holy Scripture, it will not be very difficult to ascertain what master he is serving. Happy are those, who, after a faithful scrutiny, not a scrutiny made lightly and after the manner of dissemblers with God : happy are those, who have sufficient ground to apply to themselves the often-cited exhortation of Christ ; *Rejoice, and be exceeding glad : for great is your reward in heaven.*

THE END.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

- Page 33. line 8, 10. note. For *mortality* read *immortality*.
121.—11. For *principal* read *principle*.
138.—22. note. For *Mastodans* read *Mastodons*.
238.—19. For *positive* read *positive*.
242.—26. For *gentiam* read *gentium*.
244.—7. Ditto.
257.—10. For *independantly* read *independently*.
261.—14. Erase the comma after *death*.
269.—17. note, For *Oenus* read *Venus*.
302.—3. note. For *Nim-Marad* read *Nin-Marad*.
330.—2. note. For *εδεν* read *εδεν'*.
7. note. For *πεμοναισι* read *πημοναισι*.
331.—5. note. For 31—41. read 231—241.
352.—14. For *consitution* read *constitution*.
365.—26. For the semicolon after *ANGEL* read a colon.
420.—4. note. For *dilivii* read *diluvii*.
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VOL. II.

- 9.—21. For the comma after *state* read a semicolon.
49.—13. note. For *hadly* read *hardly*.
19. note. For *ανθορον* read *ανθρωπον*.
68.—13. For the comma after *state* read a colon.
88.—26. note. For *convasive* read *conversive*.
171.—3. For *Messiah—Angel* read *Messiah-Angel*.
219.—22. For *birth of Job* read *death of Job*.
252.—11. For *wuters*, read *waters*.
263.—4. For *it to* read *to it*.
274.—21. For *chracterized* read *characterized*.
345.—5. note. For *ξη* read *ζη*.
359.—13. note. For *fædus* read *fædus*.
416.—18. For *alway* read *always*.
420.—12. Insert *they* before *were*.
426.—2. Insert a comma after *glare*.

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